*539 /367 cont./
or tobacco or manioc. All that I had I gave to Miriápura Turíkaro, but, since you did wrong, all that is now lost. My sister, Yepá Uejkeó, is going to give you the seeds of manioc, coca, and tobacco. My sister, Yepá Uejkeó, will give two little sticks to your woman (woman of Yúpuri Baúro). These little sticks will be as though stained with blood. I tell you this so that you will know. When your woman feels a blow on her body (32), it is because Yepá Uejkeó is coming with the seed.

•[756] [574]

32. According to the informant, the shaman also feels a blow on his body every time travelers arrive at a maloca.

Your woman must go immediately to the port of Diawí, and you must order all your Pamúri Majsá to turn around and look toward the back door of Diawí, all lying in their own hammocks. If you do not pay attention to me this time, you will lose the manioc seed again, just as you lost the Bajséboperi the last time. All the natives the Vaupés are like animals. Someday I will send you chickens, dogs, and pigs so that you can compare yourselves with them. I am cursing you. Look at the group of the Ereya (33) and at the group of Siópuri Uejké (34). They really

33. Brazilians.

34. Colombians.

are good people. /368/ They have their own chiefs and they pay attention to their chiefs. They truly obey me. Go into the maloca of Diawí." And Yepá Huáke disappeared. Yúpuri Baúro entered Diawí, and there he ordered that all the Pamúri Majsá turn to look toward the back door. And all of the Pamúri Majsá obeyed. And they obeyed Yúpuri Baúro because formerly the Tukano /Tucano/ were very respectful. And formerly Yúpuri Baúro could strike Yepára Oakajpeá (35), and Yepára

[615] [614]

35. In the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry,

105 /104 cont./
abduction, they practice the couvade, there is segregation of the woman during menstruation, there are initiation ceremonies for the boys who have reached puberty, and there is social stratification with castes.

177 [797] Since the arrival of the religious Missionary and the rubber worker in the region, two important phenomena have occurred. The most significant and most noticeable one is the rapid incorporation and diffusion of occidental material culture. The aluminum pot has replaced the pottery bowl, trousers have replaced the loincloth, the cotton dress has taken the place of the tree-bark skirt, hunting is no longer done with bow and arrow, but with a shotgun, and fishing is more often done with the fishhook than with the trap.

[182] [797] [584] [601] [595] [178] In the field of spiritual culture the influence of occidental culture has been more subtle and not so rapidly accepted. It is certain that the system of social organization is suffering a process of disintegration; the Indian who wishes to have a woman must be willing to settle in a mission, because the Missionaries have shrewdly gathered together all the women of marriageable age and have taken them to the Missions; the kinship terms no longer correspond to the present system; very few Indians still practice polyandry; but in spite of all this evidence, an adult Tukano Indian of today has not stopped thinking according to the typical Tukano mental processes. For example, Manuel Sierra, our interpreter, in spite of having lived for four consecutive years with his wife in the Departamento del Tolima, in Central Colombia, and in spite of having left the Vaupés at 17 years of age, still has the /105/ conviction that having eaten fish after the birth of his son without a Tukano shaman's having "blown" the food beforehand was the cause of the appearance of ulcers on his legs.

[262] [753] [178]

773 177 [128] [014] The Tukano cosmogony presented below shows clearly the phenomenon of the transculturation. The short time available for this first journey of contact with Tukano culture did not permit us to check this cosmogony with other informants. Our informant, Marcos Sierra, is a shaman in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River.

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797 /105 cont./
177 the Paca River. The inhabitants of Guadalajara are Indians who have quarreled with the religious Missions and have left them.
622 Javier Sierra, a brother of Marcos, is the capitán of the settle-
595 ment and is one of the few Indians who still practices polygyny: he has two wives.
• 756 The status of Marcos Sierra as shaman and expert in Tukano
115 history is high among the settlers of Guadalajara. He is con-
554 sidered a good healer and is called from great distances to give his medical services. We consider Marcos Sierra an intelligent man, with an imagination a little too fertile, and an informant anxious to help; he is approximately 40 years of age.

*
539 Cosmogony

The Tukano crossed the Pacific Ocean (4).

[115]
[177] 4. Marcos Sierra, our informant, has never traveled beyond the Vaupés region. The use of the Pacific Ocean seems to be a case of transculturization.

From Diaojpekowí were the first Tukano who arrived here (at the Vaupés). From Diaojpekowí were the first colonists to arrive in this region of the Vaupés, in other words, they were the discoverers. From Diaojpekowí came a Tukano presidente (5),

[177] 5. The term presidente represents another example of the influence of occidental culture on Tukano culture.

and he was the chief of all the Tukano. This chief is named Yúpuri Baúro. From Diaojpekowí also came a judge, who was the one who took care of all the territories of the Tukano. This judge was named Yepára Oakajpeá. Yepára Oakajpeá was the judge of all the Tukano, but Yúpuri Baúro commanded him. From Diaojpekowí came another man, and he was named Yepára Oyé, and these people still constitute the military corps /106/ of the

*539 /114 cont./
of all of you, the whites." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "You begin to make war against your enemies." And Yepá Huáke said then to the Alemán: "You go to the east, and your country will be there." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri [821] Baúro: "I am going to perform a miracle." And when /115/ Yepá Huáke said the word "miracle," which in Tukano is called Bajúrese, the sun appeared for the first time; before that there had never been sun. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro and to the Alemáni: "Each one of you will fight in your own country." Then Yepá Huáke said to the Alemán: "Your wealth will have power. Your factories will have airplanes, automobiles, ships, submarines, and all kinds of things that you want to make. And you, too, will die" (26).

26. Will not be immortal.

In this way Yepá Huáke cursed Yúpuri Baúro and the Alemanes. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "For you there remain the [755] Payés (Yaí and Kúmu). And just as I blew you in order for you to •[756] live, the payé will also blow you and will save you when there are sick ones. If the wind that I blew you comes to an end, the sick one will die, and the dead one will turn into earth again" (27).

27. Possible Christian influence.

Yepá Huáke said to the Alemanes: "For you there remains a medical doctor. If the wind that I blew you falls short, the doctor will give you injections and will save the sick people. You will perform operations on the sick people and take out the sicknesses. When the wind that I blew you comes to an end, then the sick people will die and the dead will also turn into earth again." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro and to the Alemanes: "You are not going to live for all life. I am going to give you land, and that land will be for all. And that land will never die."

/196 cont./

*192 285 415 [756] b) A small basket of the shape and material of the pi'ĩ, and in which the women keep their ornaments and painting powder, is called pi'ĩ-kamõ.

c) Also customarily of cipo is a small hamper, called wamõ axka-ro, in which the paje /curer-sorcerer/ keeps his objects for treating sick people (cf. VII - 2, e).

d) In order to store or to transport the flour that they sell, they make the panniers, térẽ-pi (Uaupés ténẽ-pi), out of strips of arumã or taquara, and with quite wide meshes (two to three centimeters), and thus the manufacture is faster. They line them with great skill, with leaves of myõ-gõ pũrĩ, or likewise of arumã or other plants, in such /197/ a way that they do not allow the flour to go through, even with the little care that it usually has during the loading, unloading, and transport.

4) Fan. With miritĩ or tucum fronds, or arumã straws, they plait an object similar to a fan, and which can perfectly replace it; it is called wẽ'rĩ-rõ (Uaupés wẽ'nĩ-nõ). They manufacture it in various sizes and use it to fan the fire, as well as like a scoop to turn the beijú in the oven. It is heart-shaped, and the bound straws themselves constitute the leg or support, by which the fan is held.

Some quite large ones are seen, of the natural size of the biggest miritĩ fronds, from which they are made, and they are used as mats for the divisions of the compartments of the malocas, or even to serve as a wall.

5) Quiver. They also prepare with arumã strips a quiver, bu'sá-sa, of cylindrical shape and about 40 centimeters in height, with a diameter of 8 or 10 centimeters, widening toward the mouth. It is used to store the small poisoned arrows [278] of the sarabatana /blowgun/, or curabĩs. To keep water from dissolving the poison, they customarily make this quiver impermeable with pitch.

/269 cont./
761 person who longs for death (17).

17. "I want to die," said one of these old men to Pe. Antônio Giacone, "because my teeth are tired of chewing." Pe. João Marchesi related to us the details of the only case of
159 suicide that he had heard of. A Taryana
682 Indian from the povoado called Cigarro, river
762 Uaupés, violently inebriated by the caxirí,
761 threw his own wife down on the ground and ill-treated her until he killed her. Afterwards he lay in the hammock and fell asleep. While he slept, the relatives and other persons buried the body. The murderer, upon awakening in the morning, called for his wife to prepare the mingau for him. They then told him how he himself had killed her the night before. The murderer, without saying anything to anyone, took his canoe and went to a nearby igarapé. Some hours later the canoe was found bubuiando (floating at the mercy of the stream) and, inside, some pieces of timbo and a cuia still dirty with timbo juice. The poor man squeezed and drank the poisonous juice of that plant and, perhaps in the convulsions of the agony, fell in the water and drowned.

• 756 2) The Xamã /shaman/ or Yaí.
*[192] The pajé or Yaí is, therefore, the doctor and at the same time
[562] Xamã /shaman/ (that is, a magician or sorcerer). Only men can be pajé.

/270/ a) His powers.

His powers are many. In the first place, to neutralize the malefice cast upon a sick person and thus cure him. He can even make individuals invulnerable to sicknesses.

/270 cont./

• 756 On the other hand, he will cast a malefice and will cause sickness in others, and even death. They also attribute to him power over the winds, rains, storms, lightning. And it is also he who will make the children grow, or, on the contrary, make them rachitic. He knows how to predict the future.

He is able to discover criminals when a crime is suspected and nobody was caught in the act.

As a result of his ceremonies, the individuals will be lucky in hunting or fishing.

It is also by the act of the paje, they say, that the curare has its formidable toxic power: that the drinks become more inebriating or lose this quality of theirs.

From this is to be deduced all the social importance of the paje and the respect and fear that surround him on the part of all the Indians, not only from his own tribe, but also from other tribes. The renunciation of the belief in the power of the paje [797] is perhaps the greatest sacrifice that the Catholic catechesis imposes on the Christian natives. In some cases, it is only partially achieved.

b) Means of cure.

755 The means of cure that the paje uses correspond, in turn, to the magic concept of the sicknesses. He knows and applies medicinal plants, with which he makes potions, prepares powder, *[192] fumigation. They also apply the ablution (Oxkó-pyó-peasé), sprinkling (Oxkó-stáse-peasé), massages (Pá-pwãsé or Tu-bõrosé), suction (Põ-ãseasé). But, besides this, he has the whole appara- *[192] tus of magic power kept ordinarily in a small basket, which is called Wamõ axká-ro (18),

18. To designate this medical kit of the paje we have also heard the expression Pi'ʃ-kamõ, if it is a basket, and Wĩhyõ-sáku when it is a bag made out of tururí.

/270 cont./

755 his medical kit, where there are small calabashes containing
*[192] powders, and also thorns, pieces of bone and of cylindrical sticks, small pebbles, polished stones of crystal for the vision, and, especially, the painted maracá (Yaxsã-ga), considered a magic instrument, and the cigar (Baxséke mõrõ-rõ, Uaupés mõ̃nõ-nõ).

He smokes it and disperses the smoke over the body, or the sore part of the body, with the force to drive away the dohasé and to effect the cure. By means of the smoke he is
[787] able to forecast the patient's death; and the direction /271/ that it takes or the figure that it describes in the air will indicate who caused that malefice.

• 756 When the pajé blows into the closed left hand and, opening it afterwards, releases the smoke in a given direction, or with a wide and slow gesture of the right hand drives the smoke from the left axilla toward a certain direction, he is sending toward there sicknesses and misfortunes. The simple blowing, slowly closing the left hand, will drive away the clouds, making the rain stop. If, instead, he opens the fingers, he will send winds, storms, lightning flashes. The lightning flashes always originate with some pajé. (Cf. Ermano Stradelli, o. c., entry Payé.)

*[192] There is a deeply rooted belief in the mysterious force of the "sõpro" /blowing/, "Baxsesé," of the pajé, because the blowing comes from deep inside the person, from his Héripõra /heart, liver/ (19).

[829] 19. They also admit this mysterious force in the sõpro of the whites, especially if one is a doctor (whom they judge to be a pajé). We know that Koch Grünberg himself (Z. I. 101) practiced the blowings among the natives.

It clearly cannot be said that the Indians admit a natural magnetic force in the pajé. They regard him, then, as the possessor of an extraordinary spiritual virtue.

4: Silva--398 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

*115 /Illustrations facing p. 272 in the original source./

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Cesário (Tukano octogenarian shaman)

The shamans:
(right) Marcelino (Wanana from Jacaré, river Uaupés)
(left) Eduardo (Huhúdeni from Uapuim-cachoeira, river Siari, trib. of the Içana)

*[192]
[534]

Tukano shamans:
Marcelino from Juquira (right)
Henrique from the Japú igarapé (left), playing the chõ

/274 cont./
755 [533] [534] often accompanied by the sound of the maracá (Yaxsã-ga), regarded as a magic instrument.

[192] Maracá (yaxsã-ga)

The development of this suggestive process is facilitated by various causes. The first one is the mental attitude of the Indian. Then perhaps the natural medicinal effect of the treatment, and coincidences which the Indian will take as a cause. It seems, moreover, that in some cases it is a matter of an unconscious hypnotism, maybe even spontaneous telepathy and magnetic force. Facts of singular telepathic manifestation and others that are amazing and escape any explanation on our part are known (23).

[797] [753]

23. In Iauareté the pajés said that under the foundation of the church was buried a malefic cigar, which would attack the faithful with its emanations. Several cases of tuberculosis actually appeared among the natives, explained, naturally, as the effect of the emanations from the cigar. In Teresita, formerly a Mission of the Montfortian Padres and today of the Instituto of the Missões Estrangeiras /Foreign Missions/ of Yarumal, on the Papurí River (Colombia), six brothers, strong men, died in less than three years, from the malifice, they say, of the Pirá-tapúya Pajé of Umurutinga.

756 731 /275/ It might also happen that in serious cases of illnesses, epidemics, or storms the pajé will invite other colleagues to form a "medical junta."

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• 756
[178]

e) His psychic qualities.

Formerly each maloca or povoado had its xamã /shaman/ and, at times, even more than one. Today there are not so many. He appears to be an Indian like the others, he will have his family, his house, his clearing, like the others, or even an apartment in the common maloca. He participates in the social gatherings: fishing, caxirís, dabacurís (24).

> 24. At times they fail to appear at such gatherings in order not to encounter other pajés. They are craftsmen in the same trade...

He is, however, an individual who must possess a particular temperament and be endowed with special qualities: broader intelligence, a tenacious memory in order to retain the necessary or useful knowledge, knowledge of the plants and of the curing processes, power of suggestion, capacity for autosuggestion, to produce in himself lively emotions, or even nervous crises which will cause contortions and even loss of the senses; and also to stir his patient emotionally with these manifestations.

He must, moreover, show a love of solitude. Some prefer to live in remote huts, farther in the interior of the forest or on the headwaters of the igarapés.

These are the principal qualities which the pajé must exhibit. Such qualities, according to what they think, come to him from a special spirit, which he can pass on to his son. Therefore the latter is the one designated to succeed his father. The office of pajé is not, however, necessarily hereditary, and another person, with suitable qualities, might become established as pajé.

Besides the qualities, adequate preparation, which will last for years, is required. It consists of solitude, fasts, dreams and excitations, and many other practices in order to develop, or even to create, the suggestive qualities. In order to achieve this end, the candidate will place himself under the training of

/275 cont./
• 756 another pajé, as though serving as an apprentice. It is not rare for a more famous pajé to attract more students to his school and to give them collective training (25).

25. Near Taracuá-ponta, in the maloca of Sussuaca, according to what Mons. Lourenço Giordano attests, around 1917, there lived a famous pajé who always had numerous students, so that they constituted something like a "Faculty of Native Medicine" in his hut. We also heard about a prestigious pajé from Iauareté, João by name, who on one occasion prepared five pajés in Melo Franco (river Papurí).

/276/ f) Preparation of the xamã /shaman/ (26).

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26. Report by the Taryana Indian from Iauareté, Vicente Joaquim Rodrigues, who took the course for pajé training.

M [192] [778]

The preparation of a pajé is a long one. Besides the theoretical instruction they receive, they also use various magic substances and instruments, called WIhĩ (27),

27. WIhĩ is probably derived from WIhI, to smell, and, properly speaking, designates the substances that they inhale or smell, like the paricá /Leguminosae/, almost all of them of intense odor, some capable of going so far as to stupefy. Perhaps, by an extension of the meaning, the term WIhĩ came to indicate also the container of these substances.

all of them of legendary origin, some of which are supposed to have appeared mysteriously, and passed on from pajé to pajé.

*192 /276 cont./

278 When an old pajé wants to prepare a son of his to practice as
• 756 pajé, he initiates the preparation during the first months, putting
778 on him, for three months, a Wɨhĩõ applied to the navel, Wɨhỹõ peomɨ kã̃ max-kõ̃-ré. This Wɨhĩõ is roundish in shape, of a hard-
[262] ened substance, the origin of which is lost in legend, according to what they asserted to us. During these three months the pajé must also have a light diet, as precaution, almost exclusively mingau and chibé.

Later, after removing the first Wɨhɨ̃ /sic/, he fits to the navel, for some five months, the Axpá--khwí-re Wɨhĩõ, which consists of a small and roundish stone of quartz some two to three centimeters in diameter.

Later on he will apply to him the Wɨhĩõ of tucumã̃ nut, well painted with carajurú /carajura/, called Õnõ̃ñã́ Wɨhĩõ (in Taryana Enúki).

There is a Wɨhĩõ in the form of rappee, which the pajé and the apprentice inhale; this is the Kaxséri Wɨhĩõ, obtained from the sap of some plants (uacú /Monopterix uaucú, Spruce/ and others), subjected to evaporation until it is reduced to a very fine powder.

The most marvelous one is the Wɨhĩõ-phɨ̃ (in Taryana Kerá-yúki). It is a small stone of crystal, with a cavity and its cover. According to native belief, this apparatus goes back to the origin of the tribe and, mysteriously, contains a substance with a delicate and pleasant perfume. The pajé, once in a while during his lectures, uncovers the Kerá-yúki, in order for this to give off that perfume, which contributes to enlightening the intelligence of his disciples, placed in a semicircle in front of him.

They say that at a certain time of the year, around April, this substance dries up and almost disappears, and by the months of June-August it begins to give off scent by itself.

756 /277/ At 15 years of age the intensive course for the office of
[582] pajé begins, and it lasts for 15 years more or less. The candidate may not marry until after finishing the course.

/277 cont./

• 756 During all this time he lives at the side of the master-pajé, and under his orders. He does not have to worry about preparing his clearing or participating in the fishing, because, like the pajé, he too will be supported by the donations from the patients.

It is a rigorous course. He gets up two hours before the break of day and his activities extend far into the night. Beside teaching the apprentices the legends of the origins of each tribe and their feats, he teaches them, moreover, the use of the remedies and their application. It is a practical course, and the apprentice accompanies the pajé in his work with each patient.

The old pajé tries to develop in the candidates the power of suggestion. Solemnly, standing in front of his disciples (so one of them testifies), with an impressive gesture, he invokes the elements causing the sicknesses. There are three in particular: Oxtã (stone), Waxkarí (fragments of paxiúba), and Uhá-phĩ (tree bark). The apprentices perceive these elements coming from the air, in the form of fragments of stone, paxiúba, or bark. The more agile ones pounce on them immediately, others let them fall on the ground.

*[192]

The candidate must know how to swallow and later to vomit these fragments. In order to vomit them, according to the narrator, they are not in the habit of introducing the finger into the throat; they press on the stomach, the bust is leaned forward, and, with the effort of the stomach, the fragment is vomited. They must do such exercises many times, and thus they wash (?) the fragment that was vomited in order to swallow it again and expel it soon afterwards.

The apprentice's insufficient skill in this exercise, as well as his inability to keep the legends and theoretical teachings in his memory, brings about his exclusion. And thus the master reduces the number of apprentices.

Much of his knowledge comes to the pajé from dreams, which he must know how to interpret. With the passing of time, in full daylight, he is able to fall into a torpor, standing up, in front of the students, and he then sees at a distance the patients who will come to consult him and the cause of the sicknesses.

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[821]

He believes that the clouds reveal the sicknesses to him, as well as other facts which are of interest to the group or to the individuals. He subjects the students to tests of ability. He sends them to observe the clouds and to give the interpretation, and he corrects them. -- "That form of cloud represents a woman and not a man, it represents a child and not an adult. It is not this part that is sick, but that other one."

/278/ He already sees beforehand that the sickness is incurable, and, thus, when he is called, he refuses to go, and he will say to his disciples: --"Let us not go to give treatments, it is useless, he is going to die."

When he foresees the cure, he then goes to the patient's house and makes the diagnosis, saying whether the cause of the pains is Oxtã, Waxkarí, or Uhá-phí. The elimination of these foreign bodies that cause the pains is the first condition for the cure. He achieves it with deep suctions, repeated three or four times, done directly over the ailing organ, intermingled also with singing, groaning, and exorcisms.

He does not fail to give advice to the patient, for a prompt recovery or in order to avoid a relapse. Among these counsels the informant cited: "to abstain from the abuse of sexual relations."

The rest of the treatment is under the care of the Kõmũ (about whom we shall speak later), according to the prescriptions of the pajé. It is done with blowings, invocations, or conjurations. These are old formulas, whose meaning they do not know nowadays, and they vary according to the cause of the sickness. The Komũ, having between his hands the cuia of mingau which the patient is going to drink, when the sickness is caused by Waxkarí located in the organism, utters a conjuration that begins with the words -- "Yára-páruri-yãvi."

Minutes afterwards the patient begins to feel better, and the cure will come later.

/278 cont./

g) His influence.

• 756 The fame of a pajé will depend on favorable events. There are therefore superior or Strong pajés and inferior ones (28),

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28. It is reported to us that at present (1954) there are five pajés regarded as strong on the Tiquié River in the following localities: Uira-poço, S. João, Matapi, Cabari, and Carurú-cachoeira.

In the distant past they were even more famous, because, according to native tradition, they performed extraordinary things. Already in 1900 one of them, the old Taracuá, complained to Stradelli (o.c. p. 595, entry Paié) -- "Today there are no longer pajés, we are all curers." "And there were complaints," explains Stradelli, "from colleague to colleague, because I have always passed as a very good pajé, thanks to the photography, to the microscope, and to the collections of plants, species of Calladiums, which I would make during the time that I spent among the natives on the Uaupés River." The same Stradelli puts forth this idea in his Vocabulário: -- "Pajé is not anyone, only those strong of heart, those who know how to surmount the initiation tests, who have the breath necessary to aspire to be pajé. With less than five breaths there is no pajé who can face with impunity the poisonous snakes; it is necessary to have more than five breaths in order to be able to cure the sicknesses with the simple laying on of hands, and, with the saliva, the bites of the poisonous snakes. The pajés who have from seven breaths upwards clearly read the future, cure at a distance, can change at will into the animal that suits him, become invisible, and transport himself from one place to another with the simple effort of his own will."

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/278 cont./

• 756 according to the cures or /279/ other extraordinary deeds that they managed to achieve. The more famous ones will attract a clientele from great distances and even from other tribes. Even some of the civilized who have settled in those regions let themselves be influenced, and they too avail themselves of the services of the pajé.

755 The influence of the pajé is such that the very foods of the
756 sick person will be subjected to his blowing, Baxséke. Even the
*[192] remedies given by the civilized are presented to the pajé, who will blow on them in order to give them efficacy. If the sick person gets better, the merit will naturally belong to the pajé. If he does not happen to improve and dies, he will explain that it is a matter of a malefice of another "stronger pajé," or because of having taken a remedy of the whites, or food "not blown," or, finally, of having been overcome by a new and unexpected malefice before the pajé could be called.

And if it is declared that nothing more can be done, the patient will be abandoned as somebody fatally condemned to death; and not infrequently the relatives will deny him any assistance, and even food itself.

[763] The patient, many times, after such a verdict from the pajé, will hasten his own death, refusing other medicines from the civilized and any food or drink (see V 23, stoicism).

167 It has happened that the pajé might declare the maloca or the
756 povoado irremediably dangerous, and then the Indians will not have any hesitation about abandoning it and will move to another place, in spite of all the difficulties (29).

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29. It has likewise happened that after a few years they return to the same place. In 1932 an outbreak of malaria killed about 70 Indians in Taracuá-ponta, river Uaupés. Although none of the students of the missionary school fell victim to it, the Indians, in fear, abandoned the locality. In 1947 they started to return.

/279 cont./

755 The Indians have been seen digging up a wide and deep yard
• 756 under the orders of the pajé, in order to uncover the cigar buried there and cause of the sicknesses, and which the pajé will make appear at the opportune moment. On a certain occasion a pajé ordered, and was faithfully obeyed, that the whole floor of the maloca be dug up and replaced with other soil, in order to stop the sicknesses of the maloca.

756 4) /sic: h)/ His position.

With the pajé enjoying the maximum influence (30),

> 30. Several Indians, after their confidence had been gained, told us that they did not like, but only feared and, at times, hated the pajé. Ordinarily, however, out of fear of the pajé's vengeance, they are silent when questioned about him, about his curing processes, etc.

because, according to the belief of the natives, the life or death of the people, from his and from other tribes, as well as the storms /280/ and all of nature, depends on him, it is understandable that his position is privileged. Although lacking political power, the tuxaua himself and the entire population respect him and fear him (31).

> 31. Padre Antonio Giacone confirms it -- "By the authority that he enjoys among the Indians and by the fear that all have of his fatal blowings, he becomes extremely proud and conceited, some even reaching the point of being nicknamed Uáque bukque, old God" (o.c. 38).
>
> They fear him even after death, because his spirit is also able to do harm. In Iauareté they asked the Missionary not to bury the pajé in the common cemetery, "because he will frighten our little children" buried there. A Montfortian

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/footnote 31 cont./ Missionary, Pe. Umberto Limpens (known as Pe. Clemente, the name of his predecessor), found himself obliged to order a pajé to make his hut farther away. In September or October of 1947 a boy was bitten by a snake in the vicinity of Montfort, Colombia, on the left bank of the Papurí. The child's father wanted to take him to the Mission, but the pajé would not allow it, saying that he "would blow" the poison away. He did this, but the child died. The child's father rebelled against the pajé, who directed his blowing against the father, and the latter died soon afterwards. The local population became angry at the pajé. The latter judged it more prudent to flee to the headwaters of the stream Cuiú-cuiú (tributary of the Papuri), where the Desana were in the habit of doing their large-scale fishing, threatening to blow on everyone who went there. The Desana, naturally, became frightened and started the rumor that the Montfortian Missionaries were also afraid of the blowing of the pajé.

756 In order not to have him as an enemy, they satisfy his wishes; in order to have him as a friend and profit from his good services, they give him gifts, even before he has performed any cure. Since his reputation grows with the deeds and cures attributed to him, it likewise wanes with his failures. In view of their being the ones who know the malefices (which they prepare as an instrument of vengeance), the misfortunes and the mysterious and rapid deaths in impressive circumstances are attributed to the pajés; and

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• 756 the vengeance is likewise wreaked against them (32).

32. Some assert that poison cannot be administered to the pajé. "He sees even from far away." This belief is advantageous to the pajés. It seems, nevertheless, that, at least nowadays, not everyone endorses it. In October of 1946, [753] a native from Ipanuré died of pneumonia. They attributed the sickness and death to the pajé from the neighboring povoado of Cigarro. When this pajé, with some persons from his povoado, were given the job of transporting some of our luggage through the varadouro /open passage through the forest/ of the cachoeira of Ipanuré, the Indians of this locality abandoned the work, hid in the forest, and, when the pajé passed by on the road, one of the men from Ipanuré gave him a blow with a stick, which he avoided, turning his head and covering it with his arm, which was broken at the elbow and forearm.

His presence in the vicinity of a povoado at night, when he goes to do his fishing, is always suspicious. If after one of his visits to /281/ some maloca (especially of another tribe) some death or misfortune happens there, the pajé will be blamed (33).

33. In a maloca of Jandú, on the igarapé Umarí, tributary of the Tiquié, shortly before our passing through there (December of 1947), [821] lightning had struck. The pajé, who had threatened to hurl a bolt of lightning there, was blamed for the misfortune.

[627] Some pajés have found themselves obliged to abandon the povoados and stay away for a long time, until the anger against them had lessened.

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i) His social role.

• 756 626 The paje represents the highest intellectual level of the native povoado, and, not only that, but he is also the stickler for the observance of the tribal laws. He knows them, teaches them, and demands their fulfillment, being able to punish (34),

> 34. He is, then, the major opponent of the assimilation of our culture on the part of the forest dweller.

with sicknesses, lightning, and, finally, malefices, disrespect toward traditional practices.

756 [852] [844] He presides over all social life, that of the family as well as of the group. When a child is born, the one who will blow on it, exorcise it, and paint it with carajurú /carajura/, in order that it will grow up strong and free from sicknesses, is the pajé; and he will also give the medicines to the woman in labor.

[553] In some tribes the giving of the name is done in the presence of the pajé. Covering the child with smoke with his indispensable cigar, under the inspiration of the moment, he will give or will suggest the name to the father, who is about to choose a name indicated by any circumstance whatsoever, perhaps even an indecent name.

[881] When the girl reaches puberty, the pajé will spend some time with her, giving her timely theoretical and practical instructions about maternity and obligations inherent in it.

At the time of the masculine initiation, it falls to him to teach the young men the traditional legends, their rights and duties as members of the group, the ritual practices, and to verify their ability by means of interrogations, punishments, flagellations, fasts, etc.

He is also the principal instructor of the Komũ (see VII - 2, e (3)), on whose capacity he will pass judgment, and of whom he will always be the supervisor, gathering them together periodically in assembly and giving them opportune directions for every circumstance.

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j) Consequences.

755 A first one is that in many cases the sickness is aggravated by the lack of adequate treatment; or the very processes of the pajé /282/ aggravate the ailment and hasten death. In several cases of pneumonia and laryngeal and pulmonary tuberculosis the catastrophe was precipitated by the effect of the ablutions of the pajé (35).

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35. In Acuricuara, Colombian bank of the Papurí, an individual became sick and let himself be treated by the pajé. He was Christian, however, and, seeing that the treatments were useless, he asked that the Missionary, Pe. Clemente, be called and even went so far as to ask him not to let the pajé come to his house. It was, however, already a hopeless case, and the cure would have been possible if he had put himself under the care of the Missionary earlier.

• 756 Another very grave consequence of this belief in magic power is the endless vengeance and numerous crimes. Every sickness, death, or misfortune had as its cause some malefice. The pajé will not only try to neutralize this malefice, but, moreover, he will designate someone as its cause, and he will prepare poisons (36)

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36. As for the poisoning by the caxirí or mingau, they say Nimá tõãsé (nimá, poison; tõãsé, act of giving a drink).

756 and counterpoisons for revenge. Or he will urge the victim to take
627 revenge after the cure; and if he died, his relatives. Hence the
628 animus of tribe against tribe, and, within the same tribe, of one povoado against another, or of family of the same povoado or maloca, is always stirred up. From which there is even more submission of all to the pajé, on whom everyone depends, and this

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• 756 is an obstacle to the development of the Indian's spirit. On the other hand, this same belief has the effect of linking the individual even closer to his own family or group, as a guarantee that he will be avenged for the malefices, and this is already a preventive, because his enemies, fearing the vendetta, will refrain from doing him harm.

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k) The xamã /shaman/, convinced or an impostor?

755 There are unsophisticated acts, in which the pajé, for example, takes in his mouth a piece of bone which he will claim to have sucked from the painful organ, or, through prestidigitation, he will show the stub of the poisonous cigar. Koch Grünberg was likewise able to observe this (Z.I. 99).

756 In addition he occupies a position of distinction and very advantageous, thus apt to arouse envy and greediness. For example, a very ugly individual, almost deformed, becomes pajé, and a father, out of fear, gives him one of his daughters as a wife (37).

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37. This is one of the episodes that was narrated to us by Padre Clemente, a Montfortian of Acuaricuara, river Paca. There came to this Missionary an Indian who for eight years had attended the Montfort school and afterwards had become pajé, "so that the others would be afraid of him, and thus he could make good buys," he declared later. The pajé who had trained him gave him something to breathe, which stupefied one and "made one see many things." He also declared that he had breathed too much of it and became ill, asking that the Padre cure him. In this case, however, a mental disturbance, perhaps aggravated by the pajé's treatment, was verified.

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• 756 As compensation for services, the pajés are always well paid to the point of having what they need for their maintenance without any more work.

Might he only be a slicker taking advantage of the credulity of his brothers (38)?

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38. Padre João Francisco Biggiaretti, doctor and Missionary of the Prelacy of the Rio Negro, tried several times, but in vain, to listen and to talk to pajés about sicknesses and cures. Once he went so far as to invite them to a gathering in Pari-cachoeira, with a promise of gifts as well, but none of them appeared.

It does not seem so. Although intelligent and perhaps even endowed with greater culture than the rest of the natives, one cannot believe that he has freed himself from the general belief in the spirits, in the occult forces of nature, which he believes bound up with the processes and ceremonies that the ancestors always used. Perhaps it is from his great power of suggestion that he gets the power to transfer to others his suggestion and the cure.

One cannot exclude, as we have already said, a certain magnetic power or natural hypnotism. Who knows, in some circumstances spontaneous acts of telepathy might take place, all the more mysterious for the protagonists themselves, the more ignorant they are. Even the cures effected by the herbs used, or by the baths applied, and the totally fortuitous coincidences will contribute toward rooting in the thought of the pajé a deep conviction concerning the efficacy of his ceremonies and his own magic power.

[797] The events revealing this conviction in the pajés are numerous. One of them had a son in the boarding school of Taracuá-ponta and, knowing that he was sick, came to visit him and found him being tended by the Missionaries and under medication. He, then, could do nothing. Shortly afterwards, taking advantage of the moment when everyone had gathered in the church for a religious function, he hurriedly went to his son's side and was caught there, beside his hammock, applying his curing processes to him.

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• 756 821 [197] In the same way they manage to convince themselves of their power over nature and often threaten to make lightning strike. They will attribute their failures to the disturbing act of another, stronger pajé. The Salesians had built in Iauareté the first large pavilion of the seat of the Mission, when, on the occasion of a storm, a bolt of lightning struck the newly built section, with great fright and alarm for all, without victims, however. Days later the Taryana pajé of the locality appeared, very troubled, assuring the Superior of the Mission that /284/ it absolutely was not he who had made that lightning strike. It was a more distant pajé, and his enemy, who had done that, in order to draw the odiosness upon the one who lived in Iauareté.

755 756 [115] Some information by Patrícia Vasconcelos (October of 1955) makes us understand that at least some pajés are aware of their own responsibility and have the idea of professional duty. Her uncle Marco is a strong pajé from the povoado of S. Luzia, Brazilian bank of the river Papurí. "He blows a lot, but he does not pour water," said Patrícia, that is, he does not use the process of the ablutions. I would not know whether this is a spontaneous defense made by the young woman; perhaps she has heard some Missionary criticize this therapeutic process, responsible for some deaths of pneumonic patients. On one occasion he said to Patrícia: --"My niece, it is a serious thing to be pajé. He must blow right (that is, perform his rites with exactitude). If he does not blow right, he will be punished." [177] Would this be the concept of a judgment after death? And repeating what she had heard from her uncle, the young woman added: -- "When the patient has a headache, the pajé must invoke (?) all the thorns that went into the head of Jesus. All the sicknesses were the sicknesses of Jesus." This, once again, is evidence of how even in the beliefs and the rites of the xamã /shaman/ interculturation of Christian elements is realized.

3) The Komũ, an initiate.

One understands the easy association between the "smoke" and the "blowing," the two important magic resources in the curing process of the pajés.

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It is not only the paje, however, who uses the cigar for its magic power and applies "blowings." They believe, moreover, that the smoke spread by some persons, particularly certain old men, have the same virtue as the smoke of the paje, or almost. The same is said of the "blowings." This is the reason why in some circumstances (giving the name, VIII - 1, b (6) /see 1, b (4)/, puberty initiation, VIII - 1 b (7), etc.) these persons intervene, "blowing" smoke.

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We learned of episodes of individuals who bragged about the force of their own "blowing," capable of sending sicknesses and misfortunes, and they would terrify the others with this.

These "blowers" are called Komũã (plural Komũ), corresponding, it seems, to the ethnological concept of "initiate."

We have witnessed the long theoretical preparation, in the form of evening lectures, which the older Komũã gives to those who aspire to the same position. The old Komũ /sic/, squatting, or seated on a stool, having before him the aspirant, also squatting or seated, starts developing his program of instruction. When it seems /285/ proper to him, perhaps after one or two hours of explanation, he ends his lesson, saying farewell to his pupil with the salutation nĩka-nĩya (U. nĩka-nĩña), adios! (lit. you remain behind).

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Seated at a certain distance, in pleasant conversation among themselves, are other Komũ and the tuxáua. When the first one has finished his lesson on the histories, legends, beliefs, traditions, customs, origin of things and of sicknesses, etc., a second one will come to instruct the pupil, who patiently waits for the new lesson and shows his interest and improvement by carrying on a dialogue with the master, according to the native custom. And the lessons extend until late hours of the night, ended by a general farewell. Masters and students, during these hours of lectures, generously help themselves to ipadũ (cf. VI - 4, i (3) /see 4, i (4)/).

One of the more expert Taryana natives, Vicente Joaquim Rodrigues, who had also taken the course to become a paje, told us that the paje has periodic meetings, once or twice a month, with the various Komũã. He forewarns them of sicknesses that

276 /285 cont./

• 756 are going to appear and gives them instructions on what they are to do in order to conjure away these and other evils.

[192] There are, besides these, other more solemn meetings, approximately each semester, when he gives his wɨhɨõ to the Komũã to sniff ("wɨhɨõ wɨhɨ̃õti kã̃ axkawerẽ̃ra-ré peókamɨ̃"; he sniffs and gives all his relatives his "rappee" to sniff).

4) Sicknesses and cures.

164 There are various sicknesses that attack that forest dwellers and often prostrate them. The principal ones, according to the frequency and the greater number of victims, are:

*[192] a) Verminosis -- Pirõ pũrɨã́ (Uaupés Pinõ punɨã́). The verminous diseases attack them even when they are old, but especially the children from two to ten years old, almost 50 per cent of whom fall victim to them (39).

[797] 39. This seriously alarming proportion was pointed out to us by the Missionary Pe. João Marchesi. Naturally this happened and perhaps still happens to those tribes and native localities unprovided with any sanitary assistance. Thanks to the hospitals of the Salesian Mission and the ambulatory-launches which monthly come up the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papuri, taking to the Indians the sanitary resources and provisions, and transporting the more gravely ill persons to the hospitals, this figure has decreased ten times or even more. Truly /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ impressive episodes of victims of verminosis are mentioned. From the cadaver of the son of the tuxaua of Taracuá in 1934, vermin came out through the mouth, through the nose, etc. In Urubucuara the vermin perforated the abdomen of a boy, who would take them out with the fingers.

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/footnote 42 cont./ time he suffers periodic attacks, and for this reason he is afraid of painting himself for the dances, although he participates in them as Bayá (cf. VII-6, a (2)) that he is. We have watched him, in spite of his years, direct the ritual dances valiantly for 24 hours without interruption.

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/288/ The magic concept of the origin of sicknesses do not allow them to take the minimum precautions. They will not avoid contact with a person afflicted with tuberculosis or grippe, or skin infection; they will sleep at his side, lie in the same hammock, sit on the same seat, drink from the same cuia, help themselves from the same pot, into which they dip their fingers with the beijú.

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The Missionary tries to persuade them, for example, of the danger of contagion in tuberculosis. In spite of this, they do not stop taking caxiri perhaps masticated by a tubercular person. They do not resolve, unless watched and forced, to take a remedy according to the medical prescriptions, in so many doses repeated at such-and-such intervals (43).

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43. The belief in the pajé is suffering a lingering shock from the hospitals and ambulatories of the Mission and the trips of the Missionary distributing remedies. Many of them, at present, not only accept, but even ask for the remedies of the civilized, especially when they prove to have prompt efficacy, for example, the antimalarial remedies, analgesics, etc. They do not submit, however, to subjecting themselves to the prolonged treatment that various ailments demand and do not hesitate to run away from the hospital.

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*192 302 386 824 4th. --. The paintings are done with the color:

a) black obtained from the leaves of a plant called dyá-wé, known as jenipapo /genipap/, or from the shrub called we'é. From the decoction of the leaves of the jenipapo left in the open air there is produced a dark lotion which they use to color the hair when it is getting white. From the husk of the pod of the ingá laterifólia, they extract, also by maceration, a black color used for the designs on the stools.

/295/ b) The color red from the Õnõ̃ã́ or carajurú /carajura/ (51)

51. Carajurú (or crajurú, as Gonçalves Dias writes -- Relatório da Província do Amazonas, I, p. 766), also known as piranga or parirí, is a climber of the family of the Bignoniaceae (the Bignonia chica of Humboldt or arrabidaea chica of Verlot). From the dried leaves left in maceration for some days is deposited a red powder, insoluble in water, which is kept in calabashes and mixed with oil or hot resin when they want to paint. The painting with carajurú evidently has a magic character. Thus, it figures in the rite of the puberty initiation, and the pajé uses it to paint his own body and his objects when he is called to attend to some patient. They admit that, when "blown" by the pajé, the carajurú acquires an extraordinary prophylactic virtue; for this reason they use it to paint, with small circumferences, the face of the newly born children, and, afterwards, when a name is given to them and whenever there is sickness or fear of sickness.

[881] [755] [756] [852]

and from the Mõ'sĩ or urucú (52).

52. The urucú (the bixa orellana or arbórea, Hub., of the family of the Bixaceae) is used, says Koch G. (Z. I. 448), with saliva, oil, or plant's milk; it is not as resistant as the color from the carajurú and fades in the light.

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533 As for the execution, one must point out that beautiful voices are sometimes found. Among the Baniva and the Kubêwãna one also observes piano or even pianissimo passages and forte ones, a consideration that we did not notice among other tribes. There is no preoccupation, however, with the breathing; especially when, already temulent, the woman will sing while she has any breath, then suddenly interrupts the verse or the melody in order to breathe noisily.

Some of these songs of the dances of the women, as well as of the pajés, end with laughing or a characteristic cry.

c) Songs of the xamã /shaman/.

533 There is a repertoire belonging exclusively to the pajés. Since
• 756 one pajé is trained in the school of another, perhaps of a different tribe (cf. VII -- 2, e (2 f)), this explains the fact of hearing the
[184] same song rendered by pajés of different tribes. Nevertheless the melodies of the songs of the Tukano pajés of the Tiquie are quite different from those of the Wanana and Arwáke pajés that we were able to record (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/").

[534] The pajés almost always sing to the sound of the maracá. Their
[755] songs constitute one of the curing processes and thus will vary according to the sickness. The musical theme is a Greek-Gregorian canon, melodious, slow, solemn. In some songs the words are already found adulterated; they are articulated sounds without meaning. At times laughs are also inserted.

3) Musical instruments.

534 R. G. Izikowitz (Musical and other sound instruments of the South American Indians -- A comparative ethnical study, 1935) presents four groups of musical instruments: 1st) idiophones, 2nd) membranophones, 3rd) chordophones, and 4th) aerophones. We do not find any example of the third group among the tribes of the

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/footnote 13 cont./ the Papurí) as corresponding to: heart, soul, and conscience. When they repeat the teachings of the Catechesis, the natives naturally give the word héri-põra this threefold equivalence. The old ones, however, only use it in the material sense, to indicate a part of the organism, that is, the assemblage of the principal internal organs, especially the heart and the lungs.

774 They admit the possibility that the soul may come out of the body during sleep, and that actually that of the pajé does [756] it often. According to what Koch Grünberg attests (Zwei Iahre, p. 317), the Kubẽwãna believe that the soul of the pajés wanders around the forest like "very bad jaguars /Port. jaguares, Felis onca or any species of Felis/" not only after death, but even during life, when they are already old, from time to time becomes transformed into a jaguar, and goes to the forest, where it hunts and eats deer and other animals.

764 775 On the occasion of the interment they bury with the corpse his hammock, fire (today matches), the cuia for drinking and other objects, so that he will not suffer want in the other life.

775 825 /326/ They believe today in the possibility that the soul, upon leaving the human body, may enter into that of an animal. But only into that of the deer or the anta (cf. legends of the Uaupés) and cite examples of the soul of a certain person (24) /sic; 14/

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14. For example, a pajé told Mandú, son of the Taryana tuxaua of Iauareté, Nicolau, that the soul of his mother was incarnated in an anta, and for this reason they abstained for some time from hunting antas.

that entered the body of these animals. They are unable,

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775 825 however, to state more precisely as to whether the animal was already alive (so some opine) or was born at the moment when the human soul entered it; or whether it is a matter of a permanent or temporary condition.

• 756 774 According to some, it is only the souls of the bad ones that pass into the body of animals. That of the pajés can enter that of the onça /jaguar/ (15).

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15. The onça, if it is not starving, does not come to the povoados. When there is a lack of food, it growls in the vicinity of the malocas, attacks the dogs, and various episodes of its even entering the huts are cited. Pe. João Marchesi informed us that one time on the upper Papurí an onça killed two Indians and ate part of the cadavers. They set a trap beside the cadavers and managed to catch it. They did not have the courage to kill it, however (probably because they thought that the wɨ̃x-tɨ́ of the victims were in it). But around the trap and the cadavers they put wood and fire until everything was reduced to ashes. And they would cry and say: "You have killed our brother (the Tukano) and our slave (the Makú)," and "they thought that in the onça there was the spirit of a pajé" (so they explained to Pe. Marchesi).

It should be remembered that they call the pajé or sorcerer yai, a term that precisely means onça.

756 775 It is a more general belief that the souls of the pajés go to occupy the region of the thunder, from where they send storms and lightning bolts, thus avenging themselves on the men who killed them or did them harm. They think they propitiate them by sending them the smoke of the cigars or shaking the maracás, rites that the pajés performed while alive.

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775 /Footnote 19 cont./ They say that at night cries are heard, and no native dares pass by there. When we were there, about 15 days after the burial, the inhabitants still continued to be frightened.

3) Moral principles.

673 They characterize some acts as "ya'ɨsé"; for example, the marriage of persons of the same tribe, to have children from incest between parents and children or between members of the same tribe, the malefice (dohasé), and stealing.

627 The punishment, however, is the obligation of the one who judges himself hurt, if he can do it. The paje, by his extraor-
• 756 dinary powers, is used as an instrument of justice, or rather of vengeance. They do not think, however, that it is legal for him to do so. They fear him, and, when they can, they also take revenge on him.

/328/ 4) Reward and punishment.

177 The concept of a reward or punishment in the other life is less
775 precise. They know, at present, that the good are rewarded and the bad, punished. Perhaps because of Christian influence, they say that the former will "go up," where they will have "good life"; the bad ones "will go down," where "the life is bad."

The concept of good and bad, however, extends so far as to include all those of the povoado as good, and those of the enemy villages as bad. It is, then, a concept in terms of the group, and not of the life of the individuals.

764 The fact that they bury the cadaver with its hunting imple-
775 ments (bow and arrow) might perhaps be a vestige of an ancient belief in a "hunting paradise," as exists in hunting tribes. This belief has been obliterated with the change of the system of life from hunting to fishing and agriculture.

/332 cont./

776 He is, said Casimiro Sampaio, a mysterious being "who descends from above. He is yellow and appears decorated with arara
*[192] feathers. He speaks, sings, and dances the mĩrĩ (32).

32. Our informant, Casimiro Sampaio, finished by saying that it is the dance of the Jurupari. Bisíu, then, is confused with the great Wãx-tĩ of the legends.

He makes a great deal of noise and eats people. The women cannot see him."

776 We learned from various other informants that Bisiu eats
881 women on the occasion of the first menses: "amõsé baásamĩ," that is, he eats the menstruum, as they express it. A Pirá-
• 756 tapúya widow, Maria José (in Parí-cachoeira, 1954) clarified
*[192] that "to eat" means that he fecundates the woman. It is for
[115] this reason that she must be shut up in the house, and she herself will call for the services of the pajé or Komĩ for the so-called "rite of initiation" (cf. VIII - 1, b (7)). These personages, with their rites, have the power to ward off the danger for the maiden.

776 A girl of the Tukano tribe from the Papurí said that the
829 Makú women, who almost always live in the interior of the forest, many times become pregnant from coitus with Bisiu.

776 /333/ d) Nãxkã Wãx-tĩ (Wãx-tĩ of the forest) (33).
*[192]

33. Nãxkã means mato /forest, wood, thicket/ in Tukano.

He is also from the forest, stated Casimiro Sampaio, -- tall in stature and ugly. He wears long hair, and butterfly wings on his face. He does not speak and does not do harm to anyone.

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c) Conclusion: What to think of Wãx-tĩ and of Wá:kõ?

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In asking the Indians of the present young or adult generation who Wãx-tĩ is, they will answer at once: -- "He is the demon!" -- They will tell us about his appearances and tremendous feats, as we reported above. They will add ancestral traditions, and the laws given by him, which constitute the customs of the tribe and cannot be violated, in order not to irritate his spirit, which still survives, and incur his punishments.

On the other hand, these same Indians will say that Wá:kõ is "God." But the old ones (and some old men present whom we [178] were able to become acquainted with and listen to) know nothing about him, they neither think nor talk about Wá:kõ.

There is in these tribes a religion or cult of the spirits. They are, then, animists. There are many spirits, a true legion of them. "Wãx-tĩ maxsã" (Wãx-tĩ people) is an expression that we hear. There is Wãx-tĩ of this cachoeira, of that cave, of this igarapé. They admit wai maxsã, fish people (67),

[823]

67. There are caves near Piracuara (river Papurí, Colombia), and the natives are afraid of going in there, because of the wai maxsã.

as if they were mermaids or spirits who live /357/ in the water. 775 There are some spirits who have been incarnated, and others, not. 776 They indeed assert that the dead person is transformed into Wãx-tĩ. And they greatly fear the Wãx-tĩ of the pajés, of inimical persons, • 756 and also of the civilized (because they regard them likewise as 829 inimical, and, perhaps, the greatest enemy (see note 54, VII 4, e (2, a, 3)). For this reason they are afraid to sleep where some civilized was buried, out of fear of his spirit, or of his Wãx-tĩ. They say about a nocturnal bird, called uruká-tutú, due to the [825] similarity to its chirp, that one should not imitate its chirp, *[192] because it will come, throw a stone, and do harm to the one who imitated it. This bird, according to their beliefs, is the soul of *[192] a deceased civilized person, pexká-sã wẽ'ri Wã-tĩ. There are good and bad spirits.

T /368 cont./
755 They grant a particular strength to the "blowing," capable of effecting cures (81).

> 81. In September of 1947, during a fight among the Makú on the occasion of a feast in the vicinity of Iauareté, an Indian received five large and deep machete blows (on the two shoulders, forehead, hand, and right buttock). A month later they were almost healed, and they explained to us that the only curing procedure was the following: before taking his mingau, every man blew over the food which the patient would eat.

T
843 In order to have children of the male sex, the woman must not take a bath during the last pregnancy.

The pregnant woman, when she works, tries not to make much noise (for example, she avoids the noise of the cuia /shell of Crescentia cujete/ in the pot when she goes to fetch water).
T Otherwise, her child will be a whiner.
501 While the man is burning out his canoe, he must not eat,
784 drink, or go to the toilet, so that his craft will not crack.
T When the parí is being prepared, one must not eat meat.
262 The Makú must fast on the day on which they prepare the
M "curare"; otherwise, the poison will not have any strength.
278 The dead are transformed into wãx-tĩ (cf. below, Funeral
T Feast). These disembodied spirits, when they are that of a paje,
• 756 of individuals of a hostile tribe, or of the civilized, are very
775 dangerous. For this reason they do not sleep near the place where
829 some civilized person was buried.

g) The cult of the dead.

T As a consequence of the two beliefs so firmly rooted, that of
621 the union of the individuals of each group, who consider and call one another "brother," and that of the existence and immortality

/369 cont./

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[763]

/footnote 83 cont./ the commotion of an infernal orgy of two days. In front of their own dead brother they will burst out in a desperate cry, and with the same aptness they will pass to the noisiest and most indecent laughter."

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*[192]

Nevertheless, as soon as they notice that he has died -- (perhaps the catastrophe already happened some time ago, and they did not notice it; or there has been a mistake, he has not died yet) -- the men and women present start the elegy-weeping, uxtisé (84).

[797]
[756]

84. Pe. Humberto Limpens, Montfortian, in the early days of the Mission of Teresita (Colombia, river Papurí), saw a "weeping," in which primarily the pajés blew smoke for a long time over the dead woman, who was married, while the men shouted threats against the enemies who were the cause of the death. Afterwards the women came, and, placing themselves in a semicircle, began the lamentations.

[797]

The weeping that took place on June 24, 1956, in the hospital of the Mission of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié) and which two Sisters in charge of nursing witnessed was also interesting. A young wife had died as the result of a stillbirth. She was the stepdaughter of the late tuxáua of Parí-cachoeira, Júlio, father of the present local chief. There had been previous treatment with the pajés; and even after she was already in a condition of extreme gravity and she had been taken to the hospital, her mother, of the Tuyuka tribe, had tried to take

/385 cont./

563 Because of the high concept that they have of the Branco /White/, without excluding the influence of their magic beliefs and because of the gifts that they can /386/ give them, the women easily give in to the desires of the civilized and are even proud of having children by them (113).

[115]

[611]

> 113. In Urubucuara and Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, two women told us, in conversation, with some pride, that they were not daughters of Indians, but of civilized. We observe here that for the purpose of social classification and of future marriage they were regarded as belonging to the tribe to which their mother belonged. For example, Antônia of Carurú-cachoeira, who died in 1956, daughter of a man from Pará and considered Taryana, later married a Wanana.

Unfortunately among the civilized who reach those regions there are adventurers without any moral concepts, without an established family (114)

> 114. Not infrequently their unions with Indian women are of some duration, that is, all the time that they remain among the Indians, perhaps in public service, or they are casual relations.

or with a regular family from whom they have been away for a long time.

881 In the rite of puberty initiation, the maiden not only has
833 theoretical instruction on her matrimonial duties, but also immediate practice with the pajé or Kõmĩ and with another young man
• [756] of her choice or of her own father's choice (according to tribe).

/421 cont./

593 [857] Even already grown, the daughters are always at her side, helping her in the tasks.

[611] [601] /422/ One more proof of a certain equality with the husband, although the children belong to his tribe (27),

> 27. The European custom presents something similar: the woman, upon marrying, loses her family name, in order to adopt that of her husband, whose name will also be that of all their children.

is that bilateral kinship is established, as the kinship nomenclature proves (28).

> 28. The nomenclature can be characterized as bilateral, and, therefore, kinship as well. As a matter of fact, to certain terms of consanguinity correspond others of affinity.

This fact is all the more remarkable if we consider the spirit of these nations, and how the parents-in-law, the brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, etc., among whom there are friendly relations, are necessarily from another tribe.

[421] [178] [177] [439] It is recognized that the wife has the right of ownership of her trousseau and what she makes; and such a right has started having an ever larger field in which to be exercised. Nowadays it is common to see the woman selling to the civilized the flour that she made and buying for herself fabrics, thread, buttons, needles, scissors, and even objects that we would call luxuries, ribbons, hairpins, hairdressing, etc.

622 562 The woman can even exercise the functions of Tuxaua (29),

• 756 [124]

> 29. Upon presenting such a question to the natives, some answered yes, and others, more numerous, no. Since there are no written laws, they can only deduce from the facts. Now

/422 cont./

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• 756
[797]

/footnote 29 cont./ many of them have never in fact h[illegible]d of any woman Tuxaua. Someone answered us precisely that she can be Tuxaua, but they had never heard of a woman Tuxaua. It is to be noted that in the Tukano language there is the feminine Wyógo, a term that is ordinarily applied to the wife of the Tuxaua (Wyogó) and, in the Missionary centers, also to the Irmã Superiora /Sister Superior/ of the girls' school. The example of Caridade (p. 709) seems to authorize our affirmation above.

not, however, those of pajé. This exclusion perhaps expresses, not so much contempt, but the concept that she is not endowed with the magical power necessary for the exercise of the office of pajé.

593
[586]

In marriage she seems to enjoy even greater freedom than the young man, being able to leave her husband. It must be concluded then that, although recognizing the primary of the husband (as also happens in our civilization), considered from the domestic-social point of view the wife is on a plane of equality with the husband (30).

30. We recently verified that this is also the opinion of Koch Grünberg, who, after prolonged contact with the Kubewana, was able to conclude that the woman is not the beast of burden, but the intelligent lady of the house (Z. I. 354).

8) Moral condition of the woman.

562
[115]

We once heard from a maiden the expression: "the woman is not worth anything." We questioned many other women, single and married, and all confirmed the accuracy of this concept, without knowing how to give further /423/ explanations. Only one added: "the woman must leave her own tribe."

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869 /438 cont./
881 It has not been reported that these Indians might have the instru-
[534] ment "berra-boi" (bull-roarer).
[778] They must show proof of benefit from these instructions;
otherwise they are beaten by the Komũã. This course, although
short, is nevertheless intensive and exerts a great influence on the
• [756] young men. /439/ Fear of the pajé grows in them (66),

66. One of the informants strongly insisted on this great fear of the pajé, because, although he does not beat them directly, he would order that the elders, the Komũã, do it.

they realize that they have ceased to be children, become serious, grave, showing a certain pride in their behavior, because now they are perfect citizens and able to form a family.

562 The end of this course is the incest with their own mother,
835 in the presence of the father and the pajé or Komũ, so testified
881 natives of several tribes. This rite marks the start of the public sexual life, because up to this time they can only practice it secretly.

562 b) Course of female initiation -- Mõ-yõãsé (67).
881
*[192]
[171]
[126]

67. It has been reported that it is also practiced, and with special solemnity, among the Caboclo descendants of the Coianá Indians in the interior of the forest about three kilometers from S. Joaquim do Coané (mouth of the Uaupés). We heard the description that follows directly from persons who went through the rite, two of them immediately after the initiation, being able not only to photograph one of them with her hair cut off, but even, through the offer of a dress, obtaining the hair. Since the informants belonged to
[115] ten different tribes (Tukano, Pirá-tapuya, Taryana, Kumãdene, Karapanã, Tuyuka, Desana, Wanana,

/439 cont./

562 881 Naturally one can not mark the date for this beforehand. It is likewise understandable that it is practically impossible to perform this rite with an entire group, as in the male initiation, if we consider that they are small povoades or only a maloca.

*[192] /440/ The first menstruation is a dangerous event for the young woman; she may be a victim of Bisíu (VII -- 4, d (5 c)), Bisíu a'mõsé-re baásamĩ, they say, that is, Bisíu eats the menstruation. As they explain, to eat means that he will come to fecundate her (69).

[177] [797]

69. A singular phenomenon of acculturation or adaptation has been taking place. A girl, for example, is in school at the time of the first menstruation. She will perform the rite perhaps many months later, when she returns to her povoado. She does not wait, according to information from the young women themselves, until the next menstruation comes to perform the rite. As for the rest, she follows exactly what the customs dictate.

[756] (See Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/.) The maiden then will be the first to announce the fact and to request the intervention of the pajé or Komĩ (70).

70. One of the young informants asserted that the maiden will be happier if she does this rite with a stronger pajé. Another added that she will be still more so if it has been with a white.

[829]

Besides, the rite is desired by the girl, not only because it gives her freedom for the public sexual relations, but also because, according to her convictions, this rite is going to assure her happy deliveries, as various young women testified. For this reason no maiden would dare to marry without the puberty rite and the mõ-yoãsé (coitus of initiation). Some nubile maiden, especially

/443 cont./

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881
[302]
[608]

/footnote 78 cont./ to mean a healthy coloring of the face, and in some cases it seems to us to have the meaning of "illuminátio vultus" /vultus, "look, appearance"/ of the Jews.

"the fat to go from the face, and to remain always young."

When the cutting of the hair and the painting of the face have been done, no person may enter the place of seclusion except the pajé or Ko-mũ, the young man, and the girl's mother (and, lacking the latter, the grandmother or woman on whom the young woman depends), and the Mõ-paxkoá herself. She will fast a great deal; the only foods permitted are beijú, small fish (jacundá, pirámirim), ant, mexkã (manivara /termite queen/), and sirákaro (beijú of tapioca). She uses the manivara (explained Patricia Vasconcelos) "because it does not have fat and the pajé has broken its stinger."

[262]
*[192]

She will, moreover, be subjected to painful tests: she will spend long hours seated on the floor and all of the last night in vigil. The pajé or the Ko-mũ, bending over the fire, covers her with a strainer, and he will "blow" over her, while she remains seated, with her head bowed upon her crossed arms.

During this ceremony he brings her a cuia with pepper and gives it to her to smell, "in order for the face to remain always smooth," that is, not to be left early with a wrinkled face. Simultaneously he instructs her concerning the duties of a wife and mother.

[756]
[867]

Some of these instructions by the pajé, as the informants related to us, are: "to have good behavior toward her own mother -- to work hard -- not to do as the others do (?) -- when young to work harder -- to be kind toward the elders, to stay away from the piraboto /bouto/ -- to avoid the great snake because it swallows (that is, fecundates) the woman -- she must prepare food for the man -- work in the clearing -- not to get much sun, because otherwise she will quickly grow old -- to

562 /443 cont./
881 work rapidly -- to return home at once" (79).
[756]
[867]
[177]

79. These recommendations against the piraboto, the great snake, and the peculiar interdiction against eating paraíba fish are indications of a penetration of the Tupi legends in the Uaupesina civilization. As proof and for a better understanding of these recommendations, some legends should be recalled, especially those of Tincuam and those of the Jurupari of the Baré versions, the Taryana of Izi ("Lendas do Uaupés" of the author).

[756] Nevertheless, he will not tell her anything about the origin
[869] of the tribe. After having blown over her with the smoke of his
[833] cigar, pronouncing at the same time a long and unintelligible exorcism, the copulation takes place (80).

80. Among the Tukano, according to what the paje Marco of S. Luzia, river Papuri, revealed, the purpose of the copulation is to place in position the nihĩ-koró, which is inverted. But ordinarily, in similar rites, it has the symbolism of a union of forces and properties preserving the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ evils that the rite is aimed at conuring away. Perhaps because of that, both the paje, or Komũ, and the young man practice copulation on this occasion not only with the girl, but also with her mother and her paxkoá, as the several informants of the Uaupés stated.

/460 cont./

623 "The elders desire it this way" is an expression that is frequently heard when one asks the native the reason for some practice that causes us surprise. This expression is the manifestation of an impersonal will (the name of some of the components, as responsible for the decision, is never revealed), which is always respected. This term "elder," "Bũxkõ," applied to the Komũã, is indicative of authority rather than of age, because one sees individuals of perhaps 30 years of age or a little more making up part of the Council.

*[192]

The Council acts as electoral college of the Tuxaua, Wyõra bexsesé, and as a tribunal which passes judgment on the omissions and transgressions of the customs.

*[192]

[115] Vice versa, as follows from the Tukano narrator Antônio Barreto, the choice of the members of the Council falls to the Tuxaua. The zeal of someone from the maloca with regard to the interests of the group, his love for the traditions, his facility in remembering them, are, it seems, the qualities required to be admitted among the Komũã. It is nevertheless necessary for him to be presented by some member of the council, perhaps the candidate's father himself. His admission, however, depends on the favorable opinion of the Council, after the candidate has given proofs of his aptitude, for example, repeating the legends of the tribe, or the songs of the dances, or showing the efficacy of his "blowings." For this a prolonged course at the school of the old Komũã has been necessary, as we saw above (VII - 2, e (3)).

The title of Komũã is a lifelong one and procures for them the respect of their contributors. The Komũã, moreover, practice their activities as "blowers," especially at the delivery and at the giving of the names, as instructors at the puberty rites, and as helpers of the Pajé in treating the sick. The meetings are frequent. The Tukano Patrícia Vasconcelos assured us that sometimes they meet almost every night.

[756]
[755]
[115]

/467 cont./

797 by this companion, whose rebuke (104)
857

> 104. Among the reciprocal insults, someone said: -- "You do not have a father," and another answered her: -- "Your mother is a thief."

she feared more than that of the Religious Superiors.

575 We have already mentioned the great sociability of these tribes, but nevertheless there do not seem to exist among the Uaupesinos secret Societies or more or less public ones of the various kinds that proliferate among the North American tribes, especially among the matriarchalists. The causes might be several: 1st, they ordinarily live in small human groups; whereas it is the large groupings that favor the subdivisions into smaller societies; 2nd, they live the common life of a maloca, each one being observed in all his acts; 3rd, the family life is quite autonomous, even when several families live in the same maloca, without partitions of any kind; 4th, the almost nonexistence of a taboo separating the men from the women.

562 1) We have an indication of a great separation of the sexes, and
796 of a society that gathers together few times and quickly today, in the feasts of Wĩx-tĩ. The men congregate for the phallic procession, as we have described (VII - 4, e (2 a 1) and the women remain outside the maloca, with the prohibition, under the penalty of death, against looking at the instrument.

623 2) We have noticed in the malocas and povoados the existence of a Senate, the Bũxkõrákurá, which meets frequently, enjoying /468/ great ascendancy, imposing and demanding the observance of the ancestral customs, with the competence to choose the chief.

• 756 3) Another existing society, it seems, is that of the Xamãs /shamans/ or Pajés. The training process of the pajé always is attending the school of another pajé, even by class of student-xamãs. Even after graduating and in the exercise of their profession, they meet periodically, invited to resolve the most difficult

/468 cont./

• 756 cases. It is not known, however, whether there are more frequent meetings, at certain times, whether there are rites, or which acts [622] they practice then. It is known, indeed, that the pajé often convenes the Komũã, in order to resolve the sanitary problems of the maloca or povoado (see VII - 2, e (3)).

562 4) A Tukano informant, Dorotéia Brito, spoke of womens' meet-
578 ings inside the maloca, during which they reveal among themselves
[115] the bad treatment that they receive from the men. We were not able, however, to verify whether it is a matter of true meetings of a secret society, as defense of class. Or instead, as seems more likely, casual, although frequent meetings of women, during which they open their hearts, revealing their own complaints. It is certain that at times, by the law of exogamy, all the women are from a certain tribe, to which they go to relate anything bad their husbands say against it, from which arise disputes and vengeance. This happens in a very regular way, and with a previous understand-
[192] ing of the women among themselves. These tales by the women are called ukhã.

h) Social classes.

565 Among these Indians there is no true social stratification or social Classes, in the sense that there are privileged positions, perhaps lifelong and hereditary, with differentiation of tasks, diversity of rights and even of peculiar customs (in the dwelling, clothing, badges, emblems, etc.), as happens in more complex cultural
565 forms. Within the maloca there are no lords and nobles, just
567 as there are no slaves (105);

> 105. In practice the Makú serve as slaves. It is a matter, however, of another tribe, racially, linguistically, and culturally different. Perhaps one can not even truly say slaves, since in exchange for work they receive protection and food. Once the tasks are finished (clearing, aturás /carrying baskets/, etc.) the Makú may leave, just as they may also constitute their maloca with their tuxaua.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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One informant explained that the feathers have power that may be too strong for the owner and that is why it is better not to have too much. Some men accumulate outfits of *mápena*. They are certain to die from overdoing, it is said. A host at a drinking party may lay out his *mápena* in a tray at the doorway so that guests may wear them for dancing. It is a point of pride to be able to supply guests in this way. He addresses a guest as follows: "Here it is now, this poor thing that I have. When you put this on you may drink. Our ancestor wore this when he made chicha to drink. He became sick when he did this, when he adorned himself. Other people know how to make this [*mápena*]. He bought it from them."

The girdles of jaguar teeth and of armadillo vertebrae were also possessed only by the *Hehénewa*. They are worn only during ceremonial dances. These girdles are symbols of shamanistic power although they are not shamanistic insignia. The jaguar is, of course, the full-fledged shaman himself. The armadillo claw forms the handle on the special rattle a shaman uses to bring rain. The quartz cylinder (*kenádox*: stone) may also be a shamanistic symbol since stone crystals are part of the medicine man's equipment. But whatever its symbolic significance, it is for the Cubeo the ornament of major prestige, limited to the high-ranking sibs. The quartz from which this pendant is laboriously made and drilled is found, I was told, only on the Tiquié River and is widely traded in the region. The *Hehénewa* claim that their first ancestors brought the *kenádox* with them and that is why they alone may wear them. Koch-Grünberg found these pendants to be widespread among the Tucano, where even children wore them.[2]

HEADMANSHIP

The headmanship, whether of *habóki* status or *kendmi upáki*, normally stays within a particular lineage, although no lineage has a specific and traditional claim to the office. The office may go from a father to his eldest son or from a man to his next younger brother, depending upon circumstances and upon which of these pushes himself forward most effectively. Koch-Grünberg observed that among

[2] Martius (1867, I, 599 ff.) observed that the quartz cylinder is a special trait of the Vaupés. He put the source of the stone at the Apaporis and Caquetá rivers and reported that it took two generations to make a pendant. The stone is ground into shape with volcanic ash obtained from the Solimoes River and the hole is bored with a bamboo drill. He saw chiefs on the Vaupés who wore pendants drilled through the long way, an exceptional mark of high status. The size of the pendant, according to Martius, was in proportion to the deeds of the wearer in war and in the hunt.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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754 694 To determine the guilty sorcerer an inquest is held around the hammock of the ill person, or of the deceased, as the case may be. All residents of the maloca gather and wait for the members of the victim's household to make the first charge. The charge is made and evidence is cited in terms of motive and of opportunity. The charge is either corroborated or refuted by any adult in the house, other names are mentioned, and the evidence is sifted. The entire discussion is conducted in a loud and angry tone of voice, and arms are brandished menacingly. Again, we are dealing with the principle [756] that a serious accusation can be made only in anger. The role of the medicine man in the inquest is usually limited to stating his diagnosis of sorcery. He may offer a clue that the sorcerer is a man [622] from afar or nearby but rarely does he name the culprit. The headman is usually the last to enter the discussion. He reviews all the evidence and presents his own verdict, which usually is, but need not be, accepted. After guilt has been established in this way, they decide how to act. It is not considered necessary to ask the accused if he can refute the charges.

WARFARE (*bwaino*)

721 [615] [614] People of intermarrying phratries often used to fight with one another. It was less likely, however, for sibs that had recently exchanged wives to fight. Not too many years ago the *Djurémawa* from Querarí killed Hühû, an old *Bahükiwa* who was then living at Guaracú. The headman assembled ten men, who went to the Querarí, attacked a house of the *Djurémawa*, killed the occupants, and burned it down. The *Djurémawa*, it was explained, were on a plundering raid. When they killed Hühû and others in his house they carried off the young girls and even the chicha calabashes. One old man escaped to tell what had happened.

Small-scale raids of this sort were apparently common throughout the Vaupés. Most attacks were to seize women, and some were for [614] revenge. Sibs of opposite phratries feuded, and on one occasion a [648] *Hehénewa* sib fought an unsuccessful war for mastery of the Cuduiarí; but the main fear of attack came from alien tribes, Cariban, Arawakan, and, in particular, Tucanoan Desanas. The Desanas raided the Cuduiarí annually during the dry season, when they could move overland and escape detection. During every dry season war [114] alarms spread along the river and the communities are on the alert. [723] I witnessed one such alert. The dogs had given the alarm toward evening and since Desanas had been reported, a defense was pre-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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A woman is active until the moment her labor pains begin. I have seen a pregnant woman leave for her manioc garden behaving as though it were an ordinary gardening day, and return later in the afternoon with a newborn baby. A man is forbidden to be present at the birth of his wife's first child. At her first childbirth a woman is attended by her mother-in-law. In subsequent parturitions she may be unaccompanied, but if she does not feel too strong she invites her mother-in-law or any other woman to accompany her. A woman about to give birth must alert her husband so that he will not leave the house or do anything strenuous that would interfere magically with the delivery and the safety of the infant. The Cubeo give no particular reason for having the child born in the manioc garden. They reveal only a general apprehension that if the child were born in the maloca something would go wrong. Not all children are born in the manioc garden. In bad weather, or at night, a woman settles for the rear plaza as a birth site. Occasionally outside birth is too dangerous and the woman then retires behind screens at the rear of the maloca. The point the Indians insist on is that a child must not be born within the domain of the men. The infant must be brought from the woman's domain and installed by proper ceremony in the male domain. There is a parallel here, I believe, in the bringing in of a wife from her community to that of her husband.

Difficulties in childbirth are attributed to demonic agencies and require the assistance of a medicine man. Human sorcery does not affect childbirth. The common supernatural enemy of the woman in labor is the boa constrictor. When a woman dies in childbirth it may be explained that she had copulated in her garden at one time with a boa. The boa then comes to fetch his child. If he sees that it is a human child after all, he is angered and carries away the mother.

Childbirth (*pwãntadjú*: making a person) is a dangerous period. First the mother and then the infant are subject to supernatural perils that must be warded off. Little can be done, the Cubeo believe, to protect a woman in childbirth. The magical safeguards for the child, however, are elaborate. Primary responsibility for the safety of the newborn infant rests with the parents – with the father, in particular, since it is he who has "made" the child. Some of the precautions begin well before birth. Extra coitus, we have observed, adds to the number of children. Twins, for example, are regarded as a misfortune. Some said both twins are put to death and others said only one, the last to emerge being the one to be killed. Twins may also be born if the father, during his wife's pregnancy, has eaten plantains. If at this time he should greedily break off a bit of manioc

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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has reported a similar three-day isolation period among the Tucano Indians.

The isolation period concludes with three major magical rites. The purpose of the first is to render all foods safe for the parents and infant, the second is to render the river safe for the parents and infant. The river anaconda and other water creatures, the Cubeo say, are enraged at the birth of a child and must be made to leave. The third is to remove the child's fetal skin (*kũrũdjũ*) by painting its body with genipa. The fetal skin, the Cubeo say, is not a human skin; if it is not removed the child cannot grow.

The arrival of an infant to the maloca is a period of grave crisis. It is the principal responsibility of the men of the maloca to dispel the dangers. The behavior of the father comes under the designation, perhaps, of the *couvade* – the practice of the man taking to his bed when his wife is giving birth. Among the Cubeo, however, this is no magical participation in the birth of the child. It is rather part of the rites or the responsibilities of the patrilocal community toward the welfare of a newcomer. The father's brothers bring in each of the foodstuffs that must be blown with tobacco smoke and the dangers chanted away. The headman, or a shaman if one is in residence, is responsible for blowing over the river with tobacco smoke and chanting away its dangers with appropriate spells. The grandmother paints the infant with genipa. The mother's magical responsibilities, apart from the movement and food taboos, is to look after the umbilical cord until it dries and falls off. She coats the stump with wood charcoal to keep it from bleeding. When it falls off she carries it to the spot where the birth took place and buries it there. As already mentioned, both parents must refrain from sexual intercourse or the child will develop a wasting sickness and die. Sexual continence continues until the infant can take solid nourishment as a steady part of its diet, a period of about a year. Male adultery during this period, the Cubeo insist, is equally dangerous to the nursing infant.

Every food is a source of danger to the infant and to the parents so that a specific spell must be recited to decontaminate each item. All fish as a class are regarded as bearing the common menace of a lodged bone in the throat, but I did not collect a general spell for fish. Each species must be addressed by name and its specific qualities mentioned. Some have small bones that lodge in the gums. Some have spiny backs or heavy scales. Whether a fish has a particularly troublesome feature or not, as a food it must be mentioned. The spells are highly standardized and vary only by name of fish and its distinguishing characteristic. In the charm it is the children of the

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task. He is said to stretch the young girl's vagina until he can insert three fingers. He then announces, "You are a woman." The Cubeo say that if a girl should reach her first menstruation with her hymen intact coitus will ever after be painful for her and she will have difficulties during parturition. Digital defloration is a secret act; officially, the Cubeo credit the moon with the act. The moon copulates at night with a young girl and brings on her first menstruation. Thus, a prepubescent girl is referred to as *paúnwe bebíko* (one who has not yet copulated with the moon).

The pubescent girl (*pupúni*: one who is blown)[1] is said to be secluded for ten days behind screens at the rear of the house, taking nothing but cassava and water. She leaves the house to excrete, through a secret doorway in the side wall of the maloca so that she will not be seen by a man. She uses a scratching stick on her head or else her hair will turn white. Some said her hair would fall out. To develop a tender facial complexion she washes with a leaf that creates a lather and she covers her face with rubber latex and painfully pulls it off. She also pushes dried peppers up her nostrils until her skin burns red with irritation. The pain of this facial treatment is a parallel to the ordeal of the ants and the whipping endured by the boys, but the justification is different. A mother says to her daughter, "You have been accustomed to disobey me. Now let me see how much pain you can stand."

At the end of the ten days her mother paints her body with genipa and she goes to the river to bathe. In the evening a drinking party is held in the girl's honor and her mother pushes her forward to take part in the dances. The period of seclusion is an affair of the women and the men behave as though nothing unusual were going on.

When a *Bahúkiwa* girl came of age during my stay among them she was sent to the house of her paternal grandmother nearby for proper seclusion. I was not allowed to go near the house and I did not see the girl until she had emerged again for the drinking party. Her hair had been cut short. I may have missed many details. Father Giacone, for example, reports that among the neighboring Tucano the shaman officiated at a girl's puberty isolation. He cut her hair short, burned the cuttings in a ritual manner, and then sent the girl to dispose of the ashes in the river.

After her first menstruation a girl is eligible for marriage but the change in her life is otherwise minor. She wears love charms and takes more care of her personal appearance. She is still attached to her mother's household.

[1] She is also known as *nominyeivi* (becoming a woman).

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masks are generically known. Koch-Grünberg (1906a) has argued that they are sacred, citing as evidence that after the ceremonies the masks are burned. Many masks, however, are spared at the insistence of children who wish to play with them, and some masks are spared and used as storage sacks. Sanctity, I would say, is attached to individual masks, and is the sanctity of the being represented and not of the mask itself. Women, it is true, do not handle the masks, not out of taboo but rather out of the feeling that the masks are in the masculine domain. The masks represent spirits who are called generically *takáhédekokü* (bark-cloth spirits). These spirits are visible only to the shaman.[3] All masks have a common basic shape, a large triangular sack that fits over the head and covers the body to the knees. Armpits are always cut out, and sleeves that come below the elbow are sewn in. The bottom of the skirt is stiffened with a circular hoop, and sleeves and skirt are hung with bark fringes. The masks have a head section, a middle section, and a bottom part. The head section is ordinarily painted with a face design that has eyes and a nose but not necessarily a mouth. Two eye holes and a nose hole are sometimes torn through for the wearer's convenience and do not correspond to the painted design. In some masks the head section is soft and in others it is surmounted by a calabash, painted brown or black, depicting a skull top; or the calabash itself has a face design painted on it and depicts, therefore, the face. The middle section is divided into several panels, half of them at the front and half at the rear. Each panel is painted in a geometric pattern that depicts the characteristic body features of the being that is to be represented. Fish, for example, have scale designs, and birds and flying insects wing designs. These designs are painted with great care by men who are particularly proficient. They follow traditional forms rather casually, however, each artist giving his own interpretation. The Cubeo do not quibble about the details of design. The fact is that no one can identify a particular representation with certainty without knowing who has made it. Only some of the masks, such as Jaguar, Butterfly, and *Abúhuwa*, are distinctive enough to be immediately recognizable. These masks, incidentally, also seem to be the most important.

The use of ceremonial masks is common enough in South America, as Professor Alfred Métraux (1948) has observed, but we have as yet little information as to their meaning, nor do we know their full distribution. What is certain, though, is that masked cults have

[3] Koch-Grünberg (1906a) has observed that while the animal represented may be harmless, the spirit itself is magically powerful.

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beeswax. When enemy *Maúnwa* attack, the paste is thrown among them, causing them to fall stupefied to the ground. It is the shaman, however, who can contend with these orgres most successfully. The *abúhuwa* are frightening to behold, the Indians say, because they have two faces, one in front and one in back. Some have sticky bodies and when they embrace an unwary victim he can no longer escape. A mother and child are favorite targets of these *abúhuwa*. The mother is killed and the child is reared as one of them. It in turn then seizes people. Female *abúhuwa* have a preference for men and the *abúhukũ* tries to catch a woman.

Nyáma abúhuko (Deer ogre) is a black ogress, an evil spirit of the deer, who catches children wandering about alone. She tosses them into the air so as to break their necks and then and there eats them.

Another ogre is *Opómbibekũ*, a dwarf with an enormous penis, who flies about at night, seizes little boys, and eats them.

Kómi is also an ogre, one who emerged with the first people. Eventually people caught him and burned him alive. They then noticed that whatever came near his ashes died. Sorcerers still go to fetch his ashes for their "poisons."

Snakes, the boa and anaconda in particular, are dangerous to women. The land boa rapes women in their manioc gardens so that they give birth to snakes. The water anaconda attacks menstruating women who come to the river. A menstruant is endangered by land snakes, too, but can ward them off by painting with genipa. Nothing, however, will protect her in the water. The water anaconda is a threat to a newborn child and to its father as well. This menace, however, is easily counteracted by the simple magical techniques of the old men. The dangerous anaconda is the white anaconda and not the ancestral black anaconda, which is regarded as friendly "because he knows his people." He is not venerated and is not the object of ritual although he is represented in petroglyphs on the Cuduiarí. In the old days, I was told, he was kept as a household pet but for sentimental reasons only.

The river is also the home of the *mwáipwãnwa* (fish people), who are anthropomorphic spirits. They are small people who live in a house beneath the river and move about at night, sometimes brushing moistly against travelers and frightening them but otherwise harmless.

The fish, who are of great importance in Cubeo ceremonials, not only in the *óyne* but in their own fish dances and fish songs by which the Cubeo celebrate great catches, are a "people." They, too, live in a house and have a chief, *Munyúnbekũku* (Old man *munyún*), a

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bidinous nocturnal hunter, and not in the sun. The sun, they say, is merely the moon giving heat and light during the day, "when people need it." As sun, *avyá* lacks anthropomorphic character. The interest of the Cubeo in the moon rather than in the sun seems related to their concept of nightfall as the sacred time. Almost all ceremonies are night ceremonies, whereas daylight is the time for work. Apart from his erotic role the moon is a hunter with a stone-tipped spear (*temùdjo*). Bits of the blade chip off which the finder can use as potent sorcery magic, killing his victim by poisoning. The moon is also an opener of graves of those who eat a seed the Cubeo call *óthai* and which is used as fish bait. The Cubeo tell the story of the man who hoped to steal the lamp of the moon (*djuwaíbo*) by covering it with a pottery dish. Some light showed and *avyá* secured the lamp to the back of his neck and flew off.

When there is an eclipse of the moon, the Cubeo say that the spirits of the dead are being dispersed. They also fear that the moon is dying. As the moon reddens I have witnessed them running about shouting to one another in genuine terror that the moon is dying. They believe that those who live in the direction from which the eclipse shadow is moving will die. The moon sickens of the same sorcery afflictions that beset humans, although they do not believe that one of their medicine men has the power to sicken the moon.

HUMAN SPIRITS

The soul is called *umé*, which also means "breath" and "breeze."[2] As a spirit entity the soul is referred to as *umémakũ* (or *umémako*). The soul leaves the body during dreams, returning as the dreamer awakes. The *Jahúkiwa*, at least those with whom I discussed the subject, did not believe that the *umé* might fail to return and so cause death. Death and illness result, they insisted, from something entering the body. At death, the *umé* leaves the body permanently, journeying after a suitable interval to a nearby river, dwelling of the spirits. After death the *umé* has human form. It can be heard talking and can be seen by the shaman. The spirits of people who have been adulterers, uncooperative, breakers of the bonds of ritual friendship, or in any other way markedly unsocial assume an animal

pomorphic beliefs about the sun. Linguistic evidence suggests also that the concept of sun and of time is built around the notion of visibility. Thus, direction, having nothing to do with visibility, is based on the *avyá* form.

[2] Koch-Grünberg (1915–16) also noted *umédε* (pulse) and *umέndε* (heart). I believe that the connotation of the term is revealed by the verb *umédaní*, which means "to get up," "to rise."

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of teaching people useful things. In the Cubeo allocation of moderate powers among men and supernatural beings, men get their fair share, so to speak.

The native term for power is *parié*, a term that applies to the strength and vigor of a warrior, the magical potency of the ancestor flutes and trumpets, the awesome fierceness of the jaguar, as well as to the clearly magical powers of the shaman or of the layman who has learned how to cure and to practice sorcery. The term simply means "able" and is the verb in the common expression "I can do it." Thus, the distinction we might draw between natural and supernatural powers is not one that is recognized by the Cubeo.

The shaman is the principal holder of *parié*. He may be known as *pariékokü* (man of power) or as *yavi* (jaguar). By either term the Cubeo conjure up the image of power. As *pariékokü* it is power in a neutral sense; as *yavi* it is power in the aspect of dread. Every *yavi* is a *pariékokü* but not every *pariékokü* is a *yavi*. The *yavi* is the supreme shaman, the one who can take the form of a jaguar, who consorts with jaguars, who maintains the jaguar as a dog. The *pariékokü* is one who has learned how to cure as well as to kill but, not being a jaguar, is a second-class practitioner. Every sib has its *pariékokü*, but *yavis* are scarce. To distinguish between the *yavi* and the *pariékokü*, the Cubeo say of the former *urána pariékokü*, *urána* meaning "big." It is because of this Cubeo usage that I have thought it advisable to discuss shamanism under the heading of "power."

The power of the shaman is called *parükü*, a noun form with the connotation of a substance. When a shaman has accomplished an exceptional act it is his *parükü*, it is said, that enabled him to do it. The great shamans control the weather, for the most part unpleasantly. They bring storms, hail, fog, strong winds. They can lower the depths of a river as great as the Vaupés. When the river bottom of the smaller Cuduiarí is exposed, however, the attribution is to natural causes. The play of the shaman with weather and the river level is only a demonstration of his power and has no sinister motive. Shamanistic power also includes the control of tutelary spirits. Generally, a shaman controls a number of insect spirits who do his bidding, in a minor capacity, however, as scouts and as messengers. A shaman on the Cuduiarí once found a little girl who had blundered into the forest and become lost. He claimed he had sent an insect to look for her.

Another demonstration of shamanistic power is in the battles the shamans wage against one another. A *yavi*, I was told, has a different

A yavi, I was told, has a different kind of *umé*, one that he can send to attack the *umé* of another. An injured *umé* sickens and dies and so does its owner. The people I spoke to did not believe that an ordinary person could be attacked through his *umé*. As a result of these shamanistic battles some strong *yavis* emerge with extraordinary reputations for power and aggressiveness. The *yavi* is the single truly aggressive figure among the Cubeo. The ordinary *pariékokü* is not. The fact of being called "jaguar" puts the shaman beyond the human pale and allows him scope for unbridled ferocity. The benevolent acts of the *yavi*, his skill as a curer, his ability to find things, and inexplicably his ability to ripen fruits – the subject of ancestral rites – weigh relatively little against his reputation as a "killer."

The relationship between the *yavi* and the jaguar never became fully clear to me, perhaps because my information came only from laymen. No *yavi* was willing to talk to me about his work. Some informants said flatly that every jaguar was a *yavi* or the dog of a *yavi*, or a jaguar into which a *yavi*'s soul had entered. When a *yavi* dies his ghost spirit (*dekókü*) becomes a jaguar. According to this view, the jaguar is feared because he is not an animal but a fiercely predatory man. Other informants explained that there are both ordinary jaguars and jaguars who are *yavis*. Both views agreed on the point that the fierceness of the jaguar is of human origin. Those who believed in ordinary jaguars said those were the kind that might run from a man. The *yavi* is ordinarily in human form and assumes the jaguar form by putting on a jaguar skin. One man said that it is not the man inside but the jaguar skin that eats the victim. There is also the view that it is the *umé* of the *yavi* that assumes a jaguar form and prowls about at night devouring people. One *yavi*, it is said, had his daughter pick the bits of human flesh from his teeth with the fang of a serpent. This young woman would steal from the manioc gardens. The women caught her at it and beat her. The next night the *umé* of her father ate them all. Another feature of the *yavis* is that they are never solitary. They travel in packs and they form a college for the training of recruits.

The story is told of an attack on a house at dawn by *pudnyaviwa* (jaguar people) who ate up all the people but one man who had hidden on a rafter. Having eaten, the jaguars took off their skins and went outside to fetch water. The man jumped down and threw all the skins into the fire. When the jaguars returned they rushed to save the burning skins. Those that succeeded left the house as jaguars and those that did not had to leave as humans.

A short time ago a *Bahúkiwa* was clawed by a jaguar. He returned

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home bleeding from his wounds and died. The people said that the jaguar had eaten the body and had returned only the *umé* for proper burial.

The shaman, whether *yavi* or *pariékokü*, chooses his calling. It does not choose him. There is nothing to suggest that the Cubeo shaman is an unstable personality in the way in which Siberian and many North American Indian shamans are. That is to say, among the Cubeo there is neither trance nor other form of "hysterical" behavior. The *yavi*, who cultivates the reputation of himself as a jaguar, is seemingly an aggressive antisocial type, in marked contrast to the favored Cubeo personality. I heard of only one woman who had become a shaman, and she was a transvestite who made such a nuisance of herself bothering women that the shamans who had prepared her stripped her of her powers. Any youth may become a shaman if he is accepted by the school of shamans, submits to the rigors of the novitiate, and passes an examination. As a young man he will not be a *yavi*. He becomes more malevolent and more dangerous with age. As an elder he finally acquires the power to appear as a jaguar.

The novitiate lasts from one month to five. None of my laymen informants could describe it in detail. The novitiate consists of four sections: abstinences, insertions of magical substances into the body, learning of songs and ritual, and examinations. The abstinences include sexual relations and the eating of fish, broiled game flesh, and, inexplicably, pineapple. One informant said that the novice, who is expected to become thin, lives on nothing but manioc and water.

The insertions described below are the actual sources of the shaman's power: (1) *duvaíyo*, spines, the center stems of the leaf of the *amhóikükü* tree, are softened and laid on the underside of the forearms until drawn in; (2) *hokúwe*, another spine, is inserted in the chest and in the palms of the hands; (3) *kenádox*, crystals of quartz, are inserted into the stomach; (4) *kwitóbo*, eagle feathers, are inserted up the nostrils to lodge in the head; (5) *dúpa*, the resin of the *amhóikükü* tree, is powdered and inhaled to lodge in the heart;[1] (6) *kúria*, another snuff made from the bark of the *kuriákü* tree, is inhaled and produces a narcotic effect. My notes are not clear on whether *kúria* remains permanently in the body or is taken only for the narcotic effect. The *duvaíyo*, the *hokúwe*, and the *kenádox* later serve the shaman as his own weapons to use against other shamans and to shoot into the body of a victim.

After the insertions have been made, the novice is taught songs

[1] Koch-Grünberg's information was that *dúpa* was a white stone, excrement of a great mythical eagle. However, I was given a piece of *dúpa* and it is a resin.

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and curing ritual, including handling of the shaman's rattle. The bark of the *kuriákü* tree is then prepared in a narcotic drink, also called *kúria*, which teacher and novice take together while singing the shamanistic songs. The instruction period concludes when shaman and novice sit side by side and under the influence of *kúria* sing and shake the rattle from dawn to sunset. At sunset a storm arises and passes quickly. Novice and teacher then go to the river to bathe; they rinse their mouths with water, return to the house, and eat. The novice spends five more days in isolation, repeating the insertions, and then he returns for his examination. He drinks *kúria* and sings until clouds come up. Then the teacher says to him, "Now you understand." He sings some more until the storm breaks, and the examination is over.

Curing is not a highly developed art. The shamans are the first to acknowledge their limitations. They claim only to be able to remove spines (*duwáyo*) and crystals (*kenádox*) that another shaman has "shot" into the body. A common term for curing is *duwaitüwü* (to extract spines). The repertoire of sorcery techniques, not to mention the poisons that sorcerers and malevolent people use, go beyond the assured skills of the curer. Thus there are many ailments which the Indians must be prepared to accept as irremediable. Under the circumstances, the anxious despair into which an ailing Indian falls when ill is readily understood. At the same time, the Cubeo are eager to accept medical treatment for any ailment, regarding such treatment as superior to that offered by the *yaví*.

I witnessed only one full curing treatment which, I was assured, was standard. The patient, an old man who died shortly thereafter, was carried from his hammock and seated on a low stool at the front plaza. The medicine man, who was referred to as *yaví*, a respect term only since he was not credited with the power to be a jaguar, held a rattle hung with parakeet feathers. He asked that two black earthenware pots filled with water be brought to him. He then went off to some bushes, from which he gathered leaves and kneaded them into the water. While doing this he secretly dropped a fistful of black spines into each of the two pots. The spines sank to the bottom. He approached the patient, lighted a long ceremonial cigarette, and blew tobacco smoke at all parts of the body where the ailment might lodge. As he blew the smoke he gestured with his right hand in a motion of waving away breath from his mouth. After each blow he stood up and sent what seemed to be breath and smoke off in the direction of the river and in the direction of the forest. The blowing was accompanied by a shaking of the rattle and was followed by chanted

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755 phrases I could not hear but which I was told much later were spells to send the illness away. When the blowing was finished the *yaví* poured water from the earthenware pot into the blackened calabash, scooping into it with his left hand the palm spines. He poured the water over the head of the old man, taking pains to get it into the ears, the patient helping by rolling his head. The black spines now lay scattered on the ground near the old man. The *yaví* went about carefully picking them all up. The entire community had gathered to watch the cure and the *yaví* asked them to help gather the spines. The people did not dare touch the spines. Cautiously, without coming too near, they pointed them out. Having gathered all the spines after a very careful search, the *yaví* went off to the brush at the edge of the plaza. He returned rubbing his hands together and making blowing sounds with his mouth in all directions. He poured once more, this time from the second pot, shaking his rattle but uttering no sound. When he had disposed of the second collection of spines the cure was finished. For reasons of magical secrecy no one interpreted to me what was being done. Later, after the old man had died, I was told that the diagnosis had been unfavorable. The quantity of *duvaíyo* spines found was great, indicating a serious ailment, and the shaman thought that the ailment (*ihé*) was probably not curable.

For minor ailments such as headache, hangover, indigestion, mild bronchial disturbances, and the like, blowing with tobacco smoke is all that is required, and many an old man has the knowledge and preparation to do that. For hangover, smoke is blown onto the top of the head; for stomachache onto the abdomen, and for bronchial disturbances onto the chest. Minor ailments of this sort are treated [756] by kinsmen, who receive no payment other than a small gift. Imported *yavís*, however, may demand as much as a machete or a musket for their services.

754 If curing seems unspectacular, the arts of killing or of causing serious illness are to the Cubeo mind extraordinarily well developed. As the Indians see it, most deaths, illnesses, and misfortunes are products of human malevolence. I doubt that any Cubeo seriously believes in dangerous encounters with *abúhuwa*. All, however, live in dread of sorcery. Fear of the *yaví* as jaguar seems genuine enough. 754 Yet despite tales of packs of human "jaguars" going from house to 756 house devouring people, actual incidents of assault by jaguars against (648) people are rare. The Indians, in fact, say that since the establishment of a police garrison at Mitú on the Vaupés the *yavís* have become cautious and no longer attack people.

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tious and no longer attack people. The *yavi* has his distant method of killing and is feared for that. But even this fear, strong as it is, is as nothing compared with the fear of the nonprofessional sorcerer. The arts of sorcery, which include the arts of poisoning, are known to all men and are believed to be used by all men. What restrains native fear of the *yavi* is the Cubeo conviction already referred to, that mischief must be motivated by understandable feelings of anger, envy, hatred. In theory, the *yavi*, being outside the human pale, may act from motives not understood by the victim. But in fact, the Cubeo find it difficult to envisage this, and they seek to account for how a victim might have stirred up the animosity of the *yavi*. They console themselves with the thought that as long as they avoid trouble with the *yavi* they will be all right. Among the nonprofessionals, on the other hand, they have no difficulty in locating motives.

The *yavis* use esoteric means for killing at a distance. First they send a frightening dream of death as a warning, and follow that with objects such as have already been mentioned which are "shot" into the victim's body from a distance. Some use a method of killing that my informant said was introduced by Indians from the Rio Negro in Venezuela. Known as *dokiibéwoinu* (dirt killing), it causes a slow and anguished death, and is used mainly as a retaliation against death from sorcery. The shaman takes from the corpse of the victim parings of nails and bits of foot callous, scurf from behind the ears, a bit of forelock hair, fingernails and toenails, and scrapings from the teeth. All this is mixed with boiled capsicum. When the brew is heated the intended victim suffers stomach cramps. It is brought to a boiling point and allowed to subside and the victim's pain subsides also. Boiling continues for three days. On the third day the medicine man sits over the pot and sings, commanding his victim to eat parts of his own body. The *yavi* accompanies his instructions with gestures. The victim now vomits continually. Then the brew is boiled vigorously and the medicine man does a staggering dance around the pot. His victim staggers and bites his tongue. Now, the spirit of the victim appears over the pot in the form of a butterfly. Caught in the vapors it falls into the pot. The medicine man immediately breaks the pot and the victim falls to his death. He has been made to eat his teeth, his penis, his testicles, and his fingers. What I have described is the short method of killing. The long method lasts ten days, during which time the sorcerer calls on his tutelary spirits, each of which is known as *ihékowakü dekókü* (sickness-bringing spirit). The *umé* of a sorcerer is never human; it takes the form of an insect or of several

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

waters of the Piraparaná. He was returning home after leaving his baskets of *farinha* on the Río Ti and offered to take some of the equipment downstream in his empty canoe. The offer we accepted. 123

'There are *jakaratinga* in a small creek near my maloca,' he said in broken Spanish, 'and I want to borrow a shotgun and a torch to go and shoot one tonight.'

We had heard that this type of baby crocodile was good to eat, and this was another chance to restore the Indians' confidence in us. With a certain reluctance Donald lent his twelve-bore. Now only Horacio's ·22 remained. We always had to rely on their help. If they looked on us as friends, they would not steal our guns. If they did not, they could kill us just as easily, whether they had our weapons or not.

That night the men squatted on their stools, around but not on the patch where the woman was buried. As they chewed coca, they mumbled at times in answer to Kuarumey. Several times one of his younger brothers left the group and came over to our hammocks to look inquisitively at our kitbags and finger them, his solemn face caught in the failing light of the torchwood. Horacio was more worried than either of us, for only a few years before he had been attacked by a group of Aucas in Ecuador and had escaped by swimming under his raft; the same tribe later killed five American Evangelical missionaries who, in attempting to establish friendly contact, had landed their plane near one of the Auca settlements. Horacio had always preferred to travel alone, paddling his canoe along deserted rivers and slinging his hammock close to the bank. To live under the same roof as the Indian made him feel ill at ease. Our anxiety was only increased by his recollections of a journey he had made in the Llanos the year before, on a tributary of the Orinoco: 000

'Moving downstream late one evening, I was paddling my small canoe, when I heard voices. Rounding a bend I saw a small group of Guahibos on the bank. Before I had even drawn level with them I heard the hiss of arrows. Suddenly I felt a searing pain as one passed through my left arm and pinioned it to my side.' He showed us the great scar on his arm. 'I continued on down the river using my paddle as best as I was able, lying in the bottom of the canoe with the arrows thudding into the side.' How he had to extract the arrow from his arm and continue for days before he could get help was a grim story, all the more so in our own predicament.

It was still raining the next morning. Without any warning, Kuarumey stalked out of the *maloca* leaning on his stave, looking neither to left nor right. Some moments later two men followed him down to the river, their paddles on their shoulders and coca pouches slung across their backs. They were taking Kuarumey to the shaman who lived deep in the forest below the Piña *cachivera*. For the time being, all we could do was to wait. An old man sat humming to himself in front of the palm screen where Watsora died. Here 123 [756]

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as though the visitor to a *maloca* is explaining his reasons for arrival while the host answers him in short phrases of affirmation. They do not look at each other during the greeting, no matter whether they are in a *maloca*, on the river or in the forest. We were continually impressed by their simple yet perfect manners. Cassava and perhaps a newly-caught fish would be brought to us when we first arrived at a *maloca*, then, without our asking, we would be shown where we could sling our hammocks.

The men have an easier life than the women. Their short, clipped speech has, like their gait, a matter-of-fact sense of urgency about it, but is punctuated by high trills of laughter when they joke and make fun amongst themselves. They are born with a sense of humour, and it is the old who suffer at the hands of the young. In one *maloca* a little boy consistently refused to let his grandfather take his afternoon siesta. To everyone's great amusement he would tickle the old man with a piece of grass, pretending a fly was settling on his body.

It would be impossible to say whether the early push of the Jesuits up the River Amazon towards the end of the seventeenth century, and the more recent incursions of the *caucheros* and the Roman Catholic missionaries on the Vaupés and Caquetá, have had an influence on Tukano thought. Certainly their beliefs are very complex. Moreover, the Tukano live in an area as far from the Amazon as the Hebrides from London, while the first direct missionary contact with the Upper Piraparaná had been made by Padre Elorza only the month before we arrived.

Besides believing in some vague all-powerful good spirit or god, the Indian believes in many lesser spirits, both good and evil, all of which have a great influence on him and to a large extent rule his life. The good spirits can be recognized in the pleasant things of the forest. They are represented by fruit trees and plants – bananas, pineapples and other edible fruits, and coca too; the various trees used in making the *malocas*; the cool and clear forest streams. Whereas the poison in manioc, the twisted creepers and roots which trip weary hunters, and the jagged rocks in rapids which split canoes – these are evil spirits.

Apart from this animistic belief, the Indian believes in an immortal soul – at least in some cases, for he acknowledges the existence of spirits of the dead, usually his ancestors. The spirit of a living man wanders only when he is asleep. The shaman on the contrary can divest his body of the spirit at will and glide through the jungle in the guise of a puma.

Indian life is greatly influenced by this fourfold world of the spirit – the monotheistic spirit or god, the animistic spirits, the ancestor spirits and the detached living spirits, and it is the evil ones who hold the greatest sway over a man's life.

Usually the men are called after birds, and the women after plants and

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551 nowers, but when asking a Tukano his name we would be given a Spanish one or nothing at all. Possibly the reason for this was that by saying his name aloud an Indian might call back the spirit of an ancestor who had the same name, or worse, by telling us he might have given us power to work evil over him. Incidentally they would usually ask ours, which we would give them – to their obvious amusement, possibly owing to the strange sound which they would find almost unpronounceable.

152 752 An Indian will show a stoical indifference to a wound in fighting or an accident while hunting. On one occasion a man was brought to us with his hand full of gunshot. He had been carrying his old carbine through the [123] forest by the muzzle! We spent nearly two hours cleaning the wound and picking out the shot, while he chatted away to his brother seemingly unconcerned. Yet when suffering from a less obvious ailment an Indian is often 753 convinced that someone has worked evil on him. Should death occur, his relations must seek revenge on whoever is responsible. On the occasion of [123] Watsora's death our own position was extremely unsure, particularly when Kuarumey departed on the following morning to visit the shaman.

• 756 123 It seems in retrospect extraordinary that we were ever allowed to continue our journey. For the shaman once consulted has to find a victim on whom he can place the blame for an ailment or death – in this case both, in the same house, the one in which we were guests. What better subject could he have had, the visiting white man, regarded with suspicion by the Indians, and uninvited? Barely two decades earlier the Indians of the Piraparaná showed no compunction in killing *caucheros* who interfered in their lives. Surely their views could not have changed so radically, in so short a time, to make ourselves an exception to the rule.

764 Perhaps the most noticeable thing about Watsora's burial was the speed with which she was buried and the fact that this was done within the *maloca*. [775] This could be accounted for by the fear that the body might be whisked away and eaten – some of these tribes were once cannibals – and then the spirit could never escape to the afterlife. Also, once buried, there was no indication as to where they had placed the body.

614 Like most of the Amazonian tribes the Tukano have no real central authority or clan cohesion. The authority, such as it is, is invested in the heads of families. These composite families seldom number more than twenty to thirty people, usually far less. In the past clans have united to fight a common enemy. At the turn of the century one chieftain south of the Apaporis organized a small army of clans to fight the encroaching white *caucheros* and to kill any Indians found collaborating with them, but this was an exceptional case.

[756] Even the head of the clan or family has only a semblance of authority, though there are exceptions, and often less power than the shaman. This lack of leadership combined with a preference for isolation – which may be

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partly explained by the environment in which they live – has resulted in the small unconnected settlements typical of the Indians of this region.

A headman is responsible for the provision and organization of the household. He arranges the building of the great *malocas* when it is necessary to move. He also oversees festivals and councils. In some households his actual power appeared to be slight, and it seemed to us that the average Tukano did more or less exactly as he pleased.

In the event of a headman dying, a festival is normally held in his honour after the burial. A new headman is then elected, usually the eldest son of the chief; though this decision depends on the council of elders of the household.

If the headman is the secular authority, the shaman is responsible as a spiritual one, in that he is always counteracting the influence of the evil spirits. He also cures the sick and diseased and in the event of death names the person responsible, so that revenge may be exacted. Living in a world apart, he keeps somewhat aloof from his fellow tribesmen and to enhance this sense of separation he may wear distinguishing marks.

Tukano families are small, there are seldom more than two or three children. Why more do not survive is difficult to explain, but life in the Amazonian forest is rigorous and the Indian believes that if a child cannot stand hardship at the moment of birth, it will not be able to stand that of later life. The normal custom of washing the new-born child in a stream is sometimes fatal. Moreover, should the child have any blemish or disfiguration – signs of evil to the Indians – it is all too easy for the mother to hold the infant beneath the water till it drowns. Should she have twins, this will also be the fate of the second-born, or it will be left in the forest to die. For to have more than one child at a time is to be like the animals of the forest – a terrible disgrace. In some *malocas* a dearth of children was very noticeable, especially in the lower areas of the river where the *caucheros* had greater influence.

The children assume adult responsibilities at a very early age. When we were waiting in the deserted *maloca* we noticed a small thatched shelter close to the women's entrance. It was bare and empty, and Horacio told us that this was probably a menstrual hut. They were common among the tribes in the Llanos and the women also retired to them during childbirth. Perhaps the Tukano had the same custom, but we learnt no more.

We saw no puberty rites though we did hear of a ceremony called Jurupari[1]. At certain seasons in the year the men leave for the forest to collect baskets full of chrysalises, *mojojoy*. When the women hear the men returning to the *maloca* they run screaming to the nearest plantation. Here they remain while the ceremony takes place, for they believe that the men have brought Jurupari, their god, with them, and if they or their children should see him, they will die. The men play long seven-foot flutes. One of these trumpet-like

[1] Jurupari in fact seems to be '*lingua general*' for god – and is not peculiar to the Tukano.

/p. 70-A/

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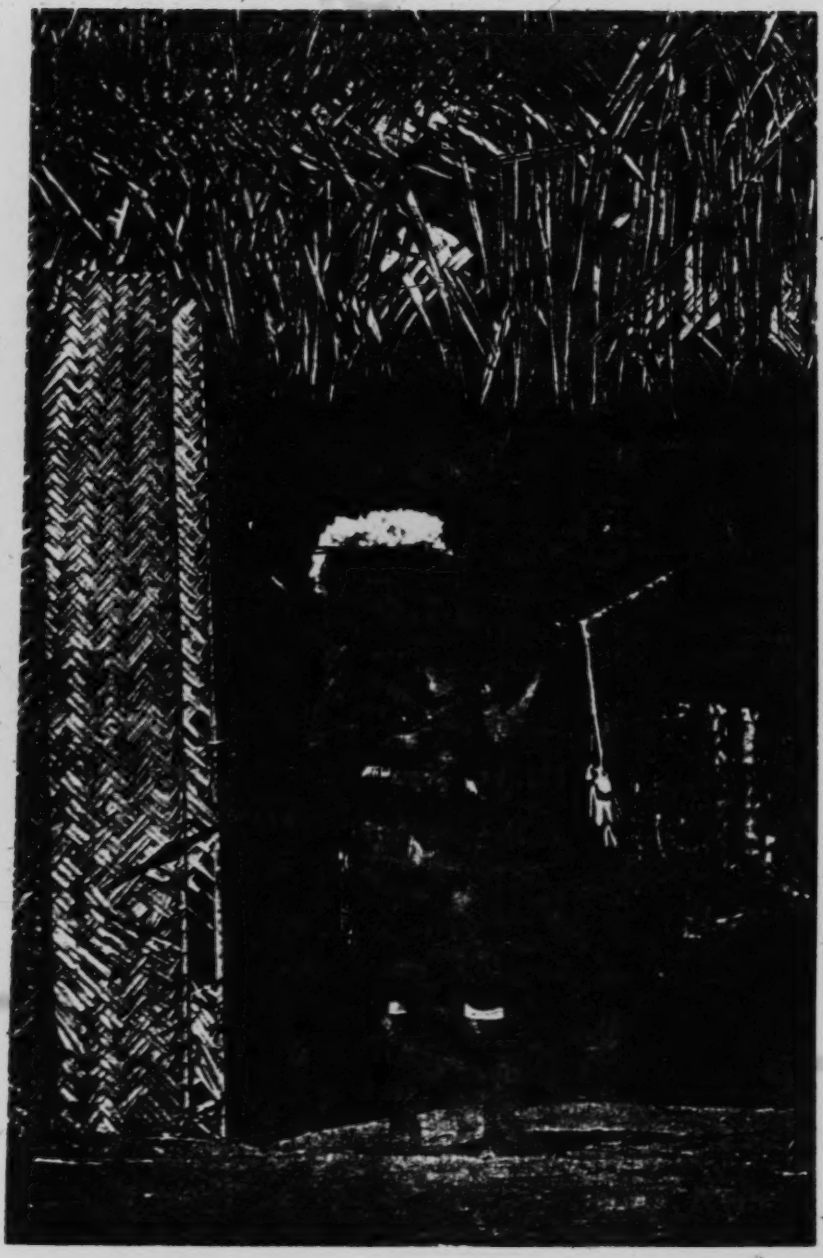

A Tukano shaman in festival regalia with his kurubeti pebble stave.

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diagonal lines. Then the women painted their own faces with *karayuru* and blackened their hands and feet.

As the sun's last rays filtered into the *maloca* and the mumblings of the council of elders died down, the shaman left the dark interior and stood in front of the men's doorway. In his hand he carried the *Kurubeti*, the sacred pebble stave. Intricate circles of blue and purple humming-bird feathers adorned one end, a swollen spearhead formed the other. This swelling was produced by soaking a bulge in the wood in water, then inserting this into a banana stem and heating the spearhead over a fire. The swollen wood is cut open and three pebbles are inserted. During cooling the wood shrinks and the pebbles are locked in the cavity. The shaman stood pointing the stave away from the *maloca*. He hit it with his right hand and the stave swayed from side to side in front of his body. The rattling of the pebbles prevented the evil spirits from entering the *maloca*. In the days of tribal war, we were told, among the people living further to the south, each warrior carried one of these staves and after victory would dance himself into a frenzy, beating the stave against his shoulder.

With darkness the festival began. Bréo carefully rolled back the cane mat from the *chicha* canoe and the women handed round gourd after gourd, full of the bitter drink. More and more *chicha* was handed round to groups of people sitting contentedly by their family fires. Some of the younger men began to play their panpipes, but as yet there was no cohesion; the groups seemed rather to be competing with one another and different tunes came from all sides, one drowning the other. Many of these men had put sprigs of sweet-smelling leaves under their loin-cloth strings and berry arm-bands. The scent from the leaves was curiously sensuous, like sweet lemon, and used as an elixir of love by the Tukano during their festivals.

The same confused cacophony of dancing and panpipes continued well into the night; it was the young men's duty to keep the shaman awake, for not once during the course of the festival was he allowed to sleep. Small groups moved up and down the *maloca*, joyfully playing their panpipes as they danced, then they retired to their family fires and drank more *chicha*. The shaman remained apart, sitting on his stool in the centre of the *maloca*, gazing as if in a trance. At his side lay a calabash of coca and the sacred pot of *yajé*, the most powerful narcotic used by Amazonian Indians. Prepared from the boiled juices of a jungle creeper, the red liquid gives the shaman hallucinations and he is able to predict the future progress of the festival. Suddenly he summoned Bréo to his side. All the men came to the centre of the *maloca* carrying their wooden stools and sat down near him. With heads bent low the men started a muffled chant, answering in unison the solo

Tukano profile and festival head-dress. [see p. 78-B]

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the *maloca*, facing the women's quarters. Dazed from the *chicha* and coca they gazed in front of them and sang a slow dirge, beating their staves on the ground. Slowly they moved off in a clockwise circle inside the four central posts. The tempo increased, but the chant remained the same, the voices grew louder and combined with the hollow thuds from the staves and castanet-like rattles. The whole atmosphere changed, no longer were there rival groups competing with their neighbours, instead everyone took part in the dance. The women joined in, slipping their small bodies under the linked arms of the moving men. The circle increased, the women with their right hand to the small of the back of one man, and their left to the hip of another. Only Wanina, the headman's wife, accompanied by her small children and carrying Bréo's youngest son under her arm, did not join the circle. She moved slowly round the centre, her eyes fixed constantly to the ground, uttering a high-pitched wail as the dancers moved solemnly about her.

The manioc dance continued through the night, but with the approach of dawn the younger members became impatient for a change of rhythm. To them such festivals were an opportunity for amusement, heavy drinking bouts and the possibility of finding a wife. One or two started to play on their panpipes, they were joined by others and soon the whole *maloca* became alive with young couples and trios weaving happily across the floor, in between the posts and along the sides of the house. Their young bodies gliding through the darkness, their feet delicately stamping the time on the ground, they seemed completely lost in the lovely panpipe tunes of the *chiruru*, the Tukano courtship dance. All too soon the thuds of the bamboo staves were heard and the elders again took control.

Throughout the entire festival the dominating figure was the shaman. Existing as he does in complete detachment from the rest, he sat alone, occasionally taking snuff from his snail-shell box. It was he who influenced the festival which, without him, would not take place. Every few hours he summoned the elders about him and as coca was passed round the mysterious chanting began. No one would tell us what was being recited, we could only gather that the tribal ancestors were being consulted and evil spirits exorcized. They did not like us to record this part of the ceremony, for quite understandably they believed we might take away their magic power.

Day and night the people danced, their plumed bodies glistening with sweat, caught in the beams of the sun or the dull glow of the torch-wood. There was continual sound – of panpipes, of cane staves, nutshell rattles and people's voices. Gradually the *chicha* canoes were drained. Gallons of the liquid had been consumed and the men had to rid themselves of their hang-overs. Nonchalantly they poured boiled green-pepper juice down their nostrils from funnels made of leaves. With grunts and snorts they cleared their heads and staggered down to the river to bathe. Inside the *maloca* those that remained were asleep; many of the women had already left for the